FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-056
Friday
24 March 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-056 CONTENTS *24 March 1989*

ALBANIA

REUTER, TANJUG Cited on Kosovo Unrest *[ATA]* 1
Malile To Pay Official Visit to France *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Scientific Cooperation Accord Signed With Greece *[ATA]* 1
AWP's Carcani Speaks on Brigade Anniversary *[BASHKIMI 20 Mar]* 1

BULGARIA

Role of Trade Unions in New Companies Debated *[TRUD 16 Mar]* 3
Socialist Approach to Human Rights Discussed *[ANTENI No 11]* 3
Ovcharov Queried on New Company Organization *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 20 Mar]* 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'Military Experts' Answer Disarmament Queries 11
Government Approves New Pricing System *[CTK]* 12
Provisions for Economic Reform Examined *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Mar]* 12
Federal Assembly Continues Session 21 Mar 13
    Defense Minister Vaclavik Speaks *[CTK]* 13
    PRC, DPRK Agreements Approved *[CTK]* 14
    Johanes Views CSCE, Visa Policy *[CTK]* 14
    Resolution on Johanes' Report *[CTK]* 15
Jakes Chairs National Front Presidium Session *[CTK]* 15
    By-Election Candidates Discussed *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Mar]* 16
PCI Stance on Dubcek Ignores 1968 Failures *[Kubin in RUDE PRAVO 20 Mar]* 16
    Dubcek 1968 Actions Criticized *[Vonderka on Prague International]* 16
Jakes Receives Departing Romanian Envoy *[Prague Radio]* 17
Rights Mechanism Discussed With Netherlands Group *[CTK]* 17
Apostolic Church Conference Opens 17 Mar *[RUDE PRAVO 18 Mar]* 17

HUNGARY

Karoly Grosz Departs for Moscow 23 Mar *[MTI]* 18
    Activities in USSR *[cross-reference]* 18
National Assembly Sesssion, Debate Continue 18
    Strike Law Adopted, Detailed *[MTI]* 18
    Social Property, Education Viewed *[MTI]* 18
    Minister Queried on 'Show Trials' *[MTI]* 19
Nemeth Discusses Future Government Appointments *[Budapest TV]* 19
Minister Csehak Discusses Possible Resignation *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Government Has Not Presented Awards to Ceausescu *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Journalists Protest Romanian Detentions *[Budapest Radio]* 21
Increased State of 'Alert' Noted in Romania *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 23 Mar]* 21
Imre Pozsgay Begins Visit to Italy 21
    Departs Budapest 17 Mar *[MTI]* 21
    Meets With SFRY's Suvar, Others *[MTI]* 21
    Holds Talks With Pope *[MTI]* 21
    Meets With USSR's Yakovlev *[MTI]* 22
    Discusses Strengthening EC Ties *[MTI]* 22
    Returns; Views Talks With Yakovlev *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Embassy in Kabul To Remain Closed Indefinitely *[Budapest Radio]* 23

POLAND

- Fishermen Begin First Strike in Fleet's History *[PAP]* 24
- Farmers March To Demand Free Market Prices *[PAP]* 24
- Forest Workers End Collective Wage Dispute *[PAP]* 24
- PAP Cites Daily on 'Illegal' Gatherings in Gdansk 24
- Roundtable Team for Economy, Social Policy Meets *[PAP]* 24
- Economy Policy Team Reaches Preliminary Agreement *[PAP]* 25
- Trade Union Pluralism Team Discusses Final Draft *[PAP]* 25
- Walesa Holds News Conference on Roundtable *[Warsaw Radio]* 26
  - PAP Reports Walesa News Conference 26
- Solidarity Spokesman Views Senate, Presidency *[PAP]* 27
- Jaruzelski Addresses People's Council Chairmen *[TRYBUNA LUDU 21 Mar]* 27
- Jaruzelski Holds Talks With First Secretaries *[PAP]* 27
- Defense Minister Siwicki Ends Syria Visit *[PAP]* 28
- Urban Discusses Roundtable, Jamming at News Brief *[PAP]* 28
- Urban Holds 23 March News Conference in Geneva *[PAP]* 30
- Draft Laws Submitted to the Sejm Published *[PAP]* 31
- New Ministers Appointed by Sejm Profiled *[PAP]* 32
- Democratic Party Head on Party, State Reform *[PERSPEKTYWY 3 Mar]* 32
- Government-Church Commission Discusses Relations *[PAP]* 35
- Barcikowski, Michalek Attend Agricultural Debate *[PAP]* 35
- Seoul, Warsaw To Promote Industrial Cooperation *[PAP]* 35

ROMANIA

- Foreign Debts To Be Eliminated in 18 Months *[Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT 23 Mar]* 36
- Ceausescu Receives Cuban Parliamentary Group *[AGERPRES]* 36
- Ceausescu Meets With Departing Thai Envoy *[Bucharest Radio]* 36
- Andrei Attends Arab Ambassadors' Reception *[AGERPRES]* 37
- Justice Minister's Speech Marks Antiracism Day *[AGERPRES]* 37
- Ceausescu Sends Message to Red Cross Congress *[AGERPRES]* 37
- SCINTEIA Carries Editorial on Sanctity of Law *[17 Mar]* 39

YUGOSLAVIA

- Kosovo Assembly Approves Serbian Amendments *[TANJUG]* 42
  - Further Report *[TANJUG]* 42
- Thousands in Urosevac Protest Amendments *[TANJUG]* 43
  - Police Intervene *[TANJUG]* 43
  - Number of Protesters Increase *[TANJUG]* 43
  - Report From Pristina 43
  - Demonstrations Continue *[TANJUG]* 44
  - Situation Described as 'Tense' *[Belgrade Radio]* 44
  - Tear Gas, Batons Used *[Belgrade Radio]* 44
  - Statement on Protests Issued *[TANJUG]* 44
  - TANJUG Round-Up on Unrest 45
  - Injuries, Detainments Announced *[Belgrade Radio]* 45
  - More Demonstrations 24 Mar *[Belgrade Radio]* 45
- Pristina University Students Stage Protest *[Belgrade Radio]* 46
  - Further Report *[TANJUG]* 46
- Pristina Conference Focuses on Albanian Appeal *[TANJUG]* 46
- Vice Admiral Addresses Pristina Unit on Role *[TANJUG]* 47
- Military Amendments Introduced in Assembly *[TANJUG]* 47
- FEC Submits Report on Attacks on Army *[Belgrade Radio]* 48
- Kosovo Labor Body Issues Warning to Workers *[TANJUG]* 49
- Kosovo Internal Affairs Official Details Arrests *[TANJUG]* 49
- Stari Trg Mine Described as 'Back to Normal' *[TANJUG]* 49
- Charges Filed Against Striking Goles Miners *[TANJUG]* 49
- Criminal Charges Lodged Against Journalists *[TANJUG]* 49
- Novi Sad Group Not To Attend Ljubljana Meeting *[Belgrade Radio]* 50

Macedonian Assemby Discusses Kosovo Situation *[Zagreb Radio]* 50
Macedonian-Bulgarian Cooperation Talks Held *[TANJUG]* 50
Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly Debates Security *[TANJUG]* 50
Slovenia's Potrc Meets SFRY Assembly Group *[TANJUG]* 51
Dizdarevic Receives New U.S. Ambassador *[Zagreb Radio]* 52
Dizdarevic Comments on Constitutional Change *[TANJUG]* 52
BORBA Views 'Albanian Separatist' Activity *[20 Mar]* 52
LCY Commission Focuses on Interethnic Issue *[BORBA 16 Mar]* 53
Abstention on UN Rights Resolution Explained *[TANJUG]* 55
Hasani, Koljgeci Address Role of Media *[TANJUG]* 56
All-People's Defense Commission Discusses Media *[TANJUG]* 56
Zagreb District Court Bans START Article *[TANJUG]* 57
Concern Expressed Over Nuclear Plant's Safety *[TANJUG]* 57
Reforms Described as '5 Years' Too Late *[BORBA 17 Mar]* 58
Political 'Blindness' Harms Present Situation *[Bilbija in BORBA 14 Mar]* 58

REUTER, TANJUG Cited on Kosovo Unrest

AU2403105789 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 24 Mar 89

["Kosovo's Assembly Voted for the Constitutional Changes Under the Menace of Tanks and Police—44 Albanian Cadres Arrested—'Whoever Votes Against the Constitutional Changes Will Commit a Political Suicide', a Party Official in Kosovo Declares—Thousands of People Protest Against the Limitation of Kosovo's Autonomy"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 24 (ATA)—Under the circumstances of the state of emergency, imposed in Kosovo, the arrests, pressures and threats of all forms, the Provincial Assembly adopted on March 23 the changes to Serbia's Constitution, which have been demanded by the Serbian leadership and which deprive Kosovo of its autonomy. The correspondent of the British agency, REUTER,in Yugoslavia, Peter Humphrey, reports that policemen wearing helmets and armed with automatic weapons surrounded the building of the Provincial Assembly, while the deputies gathered to vote for the constitutional changes. Meanwhile the tanks and troops dispatched in Kosovo to repress the objections towards these changes, patrolled the main centres of the province. Testimonies said that the armed policemen made use of anti-metallic equipments to control the Yugoslav delegates and journalists, entering the assembly building. Foreign journalists were not allowed to enter.

"Whoever votes against the constitutional changes will commit political suicide", a party official in Kosovo said. The Croatian and Slovenian press informed that certain deputies of the provincial parliament in Pristina have been summoned by the political police. There, they have been threatened that in case they do not vote in conformity with the Serbian desires they might presume to get arrested upon the accusation for "counterrevolution". The constitutional changes, which ensure Serbia's full control over police, courts, civic defence and cadre policy of province, and giving to it competences to change again Kosovo's status without the approval of this province, have been opposed by the Albanian population through mass manifestations organised in November last year and through the strike of the miners and of all the working class of Kosovo in February. The provincial Secretariat of Home Affairs reported on March 23 that 44 Albanian cadres have been arrested upon the accusation as "organisers" of the last November and February events. Besides managers of Trepca combine, there have been arrested also leaders and cadres of other enterprises of Kosova and high party officials.

Meanwhile, the news agencies report on March 23 that the news on the approval of the constitutional changes by the Provincial Assembly was received with manifestations of protests in Ferizaj [Urosevac] town. Thousands of citizens, amongst whom secondary school pupils gathered in the centre of the town, launching the slogan "Ferizaj is against the constitutional changes". The TANJUG agency reports that police intervened to disperse the participants in the manifestation, while a report by REUTER news agency pointed out that clashes took place with the police and that the journalists and photoreporters were expelled from the town. It is also reported that hundreds of students are gathered in front of the students dormitories in Pristina, while the miners suspended work in many mines on March 23.

Malile To Pay Official Visit to France

AU2103194689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, will pay an official and friendly visit to France on 29 March, at the invitation of Roland Dumas, foreign minister of the Republic of France.

Scientific Cooperation Accord Signed With Greece

AU2403124989 Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Tirana, March 24 (ATA)— The protocol on technical and scientific cooperation between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Greek Republic, for 1989-90, was signed in Athens, on March 23. The protocol foresees the cooperation between the two countries in the field of agriculture, industrial technology, mines, the mineral processing, construction etc.

AWP's Carcani Speaks on Brigade Anniversary

AU2103113789 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 20 Mar 89 p 1

["From the Speech of Comrade Adil Carcani," Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee Politburo member, at a lunch in Corovode, Skrapar District, on 19 March, marking the 45th anniversary of the formation of the Seventh Partisan Assault Brigade]

[Text] Greeting those present at the lunch, Comrade Adil Carcani said among other things:

It is a fine tradition among our people to commemorate important events of the National Liberation War. In recalling these events, the people pay homage to partisan heroism and courage, and express their boundless respect and love for our glorious party and its unforgettable leader, the legendary commandant Comrade Enver Hoxha, who inspired, organized, and led them with courage and wisdom in the great people's revolution that gave to the country the historic victories of the liberation of the homeland and the establishment of the power of the people. In commemorating such an event as the 45th anniversary of the formation of the Seventh Assault Brigade, the people show their determination to cherish close to their hearts the great ideals of freedom, independence, the revolution, and socialism, for which their finest sons and daughters fought and shed their blood, and to hand them down from generation to generation, so that our dear homeland, Socialist Albania, will live, blossom, and progress down the centuries.

Talking about the military career of this unit of the National Liberation Army, he pointed out that, in the many battles in which the brigade participated within and beyond the borders of the homeland, 260 partisan men and women sacrificed their lives, 111 of them to liberate the soil of Yugoslavia. Their names are inscribed in letters of gold on the glittering altar of our homeland. On this anniversary of the brigade, we show them and the families of these martyrs our greatest respect and gratitude. For us communists, as for all the people and for the generations of the future, they will remain unquenched stars that will inspire us on the road of the construction and defense of the homeland. On this 45th anniversary, we also remember with love and respect those partisan comrades and cadres of the brigade who, after the liberation, labored everywhere with self-sacrifice, but who are now no longer among us because their lives have run their course; the struggles they waged and their work and contribution during the years of the power of the people will survive, recorded and honored in the history of the brigade and in that of socialist construction.

During these present days of celebration, as was the case 45 years ago when the brigade was formed, we are surrounded by the love of the heroic people of Skrapar and Berat, whose sons and daughters joined those from the districts of Gjirokaster, Lushnje, and Devoll near Korce to fill the ranks of the Seventh Brigade. The people opened to us the doors of their houses and their hearts, and always stood by us, sharing their last crust of bread with us and, when necessary, giving us the weapons and whatever came to hand in order to struggle against the invaders and the traitors to the homeland. On this occasion, we feel it a duty to turn to the heroic people of Skrapar, outstanding for centuries for their bravery and wisdom, from whose bosom came such brave and distinguished warriors as Riza Cerova, Zylyftar Veleshnja, Kahreman Ylli, and many others. We express our gratitude and respect to the brave and industrious people of Berat, who bound themselves entirely to the party from the very start of the struggle. We show our boundless gratitude to and great respect for the people of all the areas and regions which the Seventh Brigade passed through and where it fought—Lushnje, Fier, Mirdite, Gramsh, Lezhe, Mat, and Shkoder. We remain indebted to them for life.

This year, Comrade Adil Carcani continued, we will have the magnificent celebration of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. The successes achieved during the 4 and ½ decades of the power of the people cannot be compared to anything in the past. The districts of Berat and Skrapar are a living reflection of the major social and economic transformations achieved in these 45 years. Albania, our beloved homeland, stands firmly on its own feet; sunny horizons and a secure future stretch before it. The party and the people are forged together in steel-like unity. This unity has been particularly strongly evident just recently, in the mobilization and spirit of mass action that has erupted everywhere to act upon the decisions of the seventh party Central Committee plenum. The great events that lie ahead of us—the elections for the people's councils and courts, the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front, and the 45th anniversary of the liberation—will no doubt further raise the mobilization and enthusiasm of working people in the towns and the countryside to mark these events with worthy achievements—with fresh victories on the production front, in education, and in the defense of the homeland.

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani said: From my heart, I wish you and all your families health and hearts as strong as steel, clenched like a fist around the party. I wish you honor in your labor and fresh successes, and ask you to raise this toast to our glorious party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia, a loyal pupil and worthy perpetuator of the achievement of Comrade Enver Hoxha, whom our Seventh Brigade had the honor of having in its ranks as a commanding cadre from the very first days of its formation!

Role of Trade Unions in New Companies Debated

AU1803181289 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
16 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Sonya Gulubarova and Ivayla Radoeva: "Practical Examination Without Textbooks"]

[Excerpts] Is this egoism? It is hardly likely that the workers of the Varna construction and installation company led by Stoyan Zhelyazkov asked themselves this question before applying to register their trade union organization at the municipal trade union council. What's this about registration? Who has excluded them from the trade unions? The trade union organization of the construction and installation combine viewed the matter like this: Since the people are not part of the economic structure of the combine, this means that they are not members of the trade union organization, either. At the same time, interesting processes are arising within the company: Workers are leaving, and the leader prefers to engage highly qualified specialists. [passage omitted]

Such processes are already a fact, and they are a source of concern for the trade union officials to whom we talked. The opinions are conflicting, ranging from the categorical view that this is a matter for the trade unions as a whole, to the other extreme: that this is the companies' worry.

Lazar Kharizanov, authorized representative of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions for Mikhaylovgrad Oblast, views the issue as follows: "With the companies becoming a reality, the problem is becoming even more acute. People will become unemployed, even if only temporarily. The trade unions must concern themselves with the social protection and welfare of these people. Moreover, the unions must look after the professional training and retraining of these people and find them jobs."

Let us also hear the opposite view. Ivan Peshev, chairman of the Velingrad Municipal Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, maintains: "I definitely believe that the obligations regarding those made redundant and their social security must be taken on by the body that deprived them of the right to a workplace: the company. The same is also true in regard to retraining and redeployment." [passage omitted]

A change is clearly needed in the mechanisms for providing social guarantees. These mechanisms might be allocated by negotiation and agreement between the companies, the state, and the trade unions.

A further point is that "differentiated layers" are already appearing in the monolithic trade union membership. Can the interests of the traditional type of worker, now working for a state company, be identical with those of his colleague who holds shares in the company? Can the interests of the entrepreneur, the hired worker, and the man out of a job be the same? Or can the interests of the employees even of the same company be similar, if the company has a widely varied branch profile? Indeed, this will be the situation in the vast majority of the companies.

This is the case in the high-strength cast iron plant in Lovech. Verka Marinova, chairman of the plant's trade union committee, answered the question of whether we should be scared by the fact that separate trade union interest groups will emerge within the framework of the uniform trade union organization, such as the engineers, casting shop workers, transport workers, and the metallurgists. All of these professions are represented at the enterprise. She summed up her view as follows: "The functions of the trade unions will be intensified in regard to the representation of the workers' interests." However, a further question arises: How will this representation be achieved? Now we come to the most hackneyed trade union refrain: the trade union structures.

Greater attention must also be paid to the questions of what power the trade union organ elected by the collective will possess in the company, and how it will exercise this power. Here, opinions vary on whether the chairman of the trade union committee must be a member of the company's administrative council. Trade union officials offer the arguments that he would thus have a vote, possess information from the source, and may even have the right of veto.

True, but as a member of the administrative council, the chairman would be paid for his work out of the company's profits. It is well known that he who pays the piper calls the tune. Furthermore, the trade union leader would be obliged to carry out the decisions of the administrative council, even if he had not voted for them. [passage omitted]

Practical experience will show which viewpoints are more correct as well as provide more precise answers. However, one thing is certain: the search for the answers will open the floodgates of a fresh social stimulus for real recognition of the trade unions.

Socialist Approach to Human Rights Discussed

AU1703213889 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian
No 11, 15 Mar 89 p 11

[Vladimir Avramov article: "Rights"]

[Text] It has recently become fashionable to discuss human rights, which may indeed be the attractive subject of conversation. The truth about this subject, however, can be briefly described based on the following argument: The slogan "Everything for man" is not worth a cent if "everything" is accomplished against man's will. Because it is our common aspiration to avoid discrepancy between words and deeds, a striving that has recently become particularly intense, the subject of human rights is becoming even more topical.

Until recently, we mainly discussed this subject when politicians—but not only politicians—from Western countries admonished us to follow the example of their kind of democracy and to apply it to our country. We must admit that the subject of human rights, with some justification, was one of the main trumps of antisocialist propaganda in the past. At that time, many of us were irritated by the patronizing tone and haughty attitude transpiring from such admonitions, and we angrily reacted by saying that we do not permit any interference in our domestic affairs. We can now repeat the same words, but with greater calm, because we are already engaged in resolutely democratizing our society, and we are no longer afraid of the "human rights" slogan. Our social consciousness was so quickly activated in recent years that sometimes it is difficult for us to realize that the changes had occurred. It is true that not all channels of information have been opened, and cases of people's subjection to red tape and high-handedness are still quite frequent, but the difference is that those same people have acquired a new self-confidence. They are aware that society depends upon them, and courageously demand that the public organs account for their actions.

Someone may object by saying that I am not discussing a question of international policy. First, I would answer that Bulgaria is part of the world, and that just as worldwide processes are reflected in our country, Bulgaria's actions, even if on a small scale, are of global importance. In addition to this, the subject of human rights in recent years has become increasingly important for international policy. It will be the subject of discussion at three international conferences—in which numerous countries will participate—scheduled to take place in Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow. Let us not delude ourselves that such conferences will easily achieve their goals. We are fully justified in pointing out to the Western countries numerous examples of discrepancy between their words and deeds; we will insist that they fulfill their obligations related to different agreements, charters, and conventions. On the other hand, it is precisely the sphere of human rights in which the enemies of detente will find scope for action. They think that this is the sphere in which we are most vulnerable, as did we until recently, as a matter of fact.

On the eve of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, the socialist countries more than any other countries are expected to recall the sacred principles of freedom, fraternity, and equality. True freedom of speech, of conscience, and of thought; a genuinely guaranteed right to work, to rest, to health care, education, and so forth should be guaranteed on the basis of these principles. If in restructuring our society we are loyal to our principles and firmly defend them, we will truly enjoy all our rights. We will enjoy these rights, not in order to show off with them, but in order to exercise them, because we can secure our rights only through our own efforts.

Ovcharov Queried on New Company Organization

AU2203060189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Mar 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, with RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative Dimitur Deliyski; place and date not given: "Requirements of Our Time"—first paragraph is editorial note]

[Text] At the stage of revolutionary restructuring of our society and of shaping a new model of socialism, we need to conduct an active dialogue-discussion on the paths that we are to follow. It is necessary to elucidate many of the processes and phenomena at this stage, define our position, and march forward with a clear concept. This is the main reason why RABOTNICHESKO DELO plans to interview top party and social leaders during the next few months. We will be grateful if our readers will send us their questions and views on the main problems of restructuring that concern us. For our part, we will set out these problems for examination in a series of interviews, the first of which is published in today's issue.

The radical changes in the process of restructuring the economy, mainly connected with the application of the Law on Economic Activity, give rise to well-founded questions and require new stands. RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative Dimitur Deliyski talked with Minister Stoyan Ovcharov on certain aspects of these problems.

[Deliyski] Comrade Ovcharov, what are the main features of the company-based organization of the economy that we are now setting up in Bulgaria?

[Ovcharov] In his report to the December 1988 plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov explained why it was necessary to take the next step in implementing the July Concept in the field of the national economy.

The striving to eliminate everything connected with command-administrative methods of management and the need to release the people's interests are the most important reasons for the transition to a company-based organization. Essentially, this matter relates not to new structures or to individual decisions on further improvements to the existing interrelations in economic activity, but to a complete change in the system of economic relations. This system reflects the consistency and continuity of the party's policy for democratizing economic activity and, at the same time, represents a qualitatively new stage in the latter's development.

By means of the company-based organization, we are putting the postulate of the unity and variety of socialist property into practice. From now on, all forms of property will be equal before the law; they will engage in competition, merge, and become interwoven with one another. Accordingly, the accent is being placed on the economic interest of man and the collective, on eliminating alienation from the means of production, and on deepening the commodity-based nature of the national economy.

The elimination of the monopoly of state property and the departmental-bureaucratic structures create conditions for doing away with monopolistic attitudes and expanding socialist economic competition. Work has already started on drafting a law that is aimed at preventing any producer or merchant from abusing a monopoly position. Antimonopolism is also an important fundamental criterion in forming the structures of the state companies.

Another important feature of the company-based approach is the combination of the planning principle with the mechanisms of the market. In the future, the state will control the national economy chiefly by economic means—prices, tax regulators, subsidies, duties, and so on, and will not interfere in the actual day-to-day activities of the companies. As has been repeatedly stressed, the state must form part of the economics, by exerting influence at the input and output points of the production systems.

On this basis, all the companies will be set up as self-managing organizations. This means that all economic activity, beginning from the drafting and adoption of the plans and ending with the choice of partners, delivery of raw and other materials, and marketing of production, is to be carried out on self-management principles. A particular characteristic of the new organization is the company's right to determine its internal relationships itself, as well as the structure of its divisions and the extent of their economic autonomy, although they are obliged to operate strictly on self-financing principles.

Another important characteristic of the company-based organization is that it will be used to achieve an adequate balance at the present stage between the self-management of the labor collectives and the territorial municipalities, on the one hand, and the professional, managerial type of management on the other. The whole idea of the reform and the mechanisms embodied in Council of Ministers' Decree No 56 [on Economic Activity] and the regulations for its application are aimed at strengthening the socialist principles of management and setting up the economic organization of the self-managing society.

[Deliyski] Experience exists in setting up companies, which has been amassed in the course of history. May we take it that our companies will accumulate this experience and subordinate themselves to the objective natural laws that govern their operation?

[Ovcharov] I must specially underline an important feature of the company-based organization that we are now building up. I am referring to the point that, while we are utilizing world experience in the company field, and our own achievements and those of the other socialist countries in self-management of the labor collectives, we are setting up a newly synthesized company, which we would like to call a socialist company-based organization.

Indeed, **this company contains certain elements from the mechanisms of the classical company structures, which market requirements have created and which are absolutely essential in order to enable commodity-money relationships to function and develop in the economy.**

At the same time, one must be clearly aware that these elements are incorporated in combination with the system of economic conditions and levers that reflect the plan-based nature of our economy, the role and responsibility of the state for the strategy of our development, the rights and responsibilities of the labor collectives as self-managing communities, and so on. Accordingly, the point at issue relates to a qualitatively different company-based organization, one which combines world experience and world possibilities with the nature and character of socialist production relationships.

The company-based organization is the basic means for us to achieve the synthesis that we so urgently need between internal and foreign economic relations, and to achieve further integration in the international division of labor. Making our country wide open to the international markets, this is the sound basis on which we can complete the structural and technological renewal of our national economy.

The preparation and conduct of the reform are organically linked with similar processes underway in the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries. Here, as in other cases, we will act in unison and seek new solutions by mutually enriching each other's theoretical and practical experience.

For us in Bulgaria, paying attention to the experience of other countries, and making use of everything that is progressive and valuable are permanent and essential requirements for our style and methods of work.

[Deliyski] The Decree on Economic Activity represents a decisive step toward economic methods of managing the national economy. What is the new role of the state and its organs in regulating the economic processes?

[Ovcharov] The changes in this field are indeed far-reaching. The main thing here is the combination of the organizational function of the socialist state with the great economic independence enjoyed by the companies in carrying our their work.

The company-based approach presupposes that the state has a new relationship and behaves in a new way toward the goods producers. As I have already pointed out, in the future the state will direct the companies' activity by

means of a coordinated system of economic regulators, instead of by directives. Thus, the state will be able to concentrate its efforts on the strategic issues of economic development, and on the most important scientific, technical, and market breakthroughs.

Both in guaranteeing the national plan and the national economic balances and in determining the state orders and the economic regulators, the state organs will increasingly act as partners of the companies, instead of acting as their mentors and leading echelons. Of course, we need a certain amount of time in order to establish an equivalent relationship between the state and the companies, based upon equal rights. We must gather experience, which will be provided by new problems, as well as by new solutions. During the transitional stage, certain relapses and reoccurrences of the command-administrative approach are not to be ruled out, because the power of inertia and the remnants from the past is still great.

The foreign manager is in fact accustomed to working in different legislative conditions and under different rules of the game. However, when he is leading a Bulgarian company, he has to deal with our own economic actuality, with our realities.

The most important thing is that **the decree represents a decisive step toward expanding the free scope for action by the leaders of the companies, which is an important requirement for the foreign managers. They are dependent only on the company's administrative council to which they are answerable, but at the same time enjoy wide scope for day-to-day executive action.**

The position of the foreign manager is further stabilized by the fact that his conditions of service are settled by a contract, which takes account of his qualifications and the post that he occupied previously, and determines an appropriate remuneration.

In brief, all the necessary prerequisites are being created for the foreign managers to implement successful technological, market, and investment policies for the companies that they have agreed to lead, under a contract with their administrative councils.

[Deliyski] What are the practical approaches, and what kind of organization is used to build up the companies? Could you give us more details about the first results of the work in this direction?

[Ovcharov] As is well-known, the practical work on setting up the companies and registering them at the court began directly after the publication of the Decree on Economic Activity and the regulations for applying the decree.

The correct formation of the company structures is of exceptional importance for the fate of the cause we have undertaken. For this reason, a special-purpose organization has been created at the national level that is to guarantee the consistent fulfillment of the decisions of the December 1988 plenum in the field of the economy. In view of its importance, this work is being conducted under the direct leadership of Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Our entire creative potential, coming from the party, state, and economic leaders, scientific workers, and specialists, is being literally "harnessed" for the work of preparing the proposals on the company structures. During this process, polls must also be taken of individual labor collectives, with a view to clearly defining all aspects of the problems that are arising.

Within all the production complexes, commissions of experts have been set up to draft the proposals for the company structures and for each individual company and to submit them for discussion by the competent party and state organs.

A wide range of experts from the central state organs are taking part in the discussions and debates, as well as economic leaders and specialists. Both the commissions and the representatives of the state organs are also carefully studying the proposals that are coming in from the oblast and municipal people's councils, individual labor collectives, and, in many cases, from individual specialists.

In order to overcome these relapses, we must coordinate the economic regulators in our economy increasingly closely with those used within the CEMA member countries and by our other main economic partners. This is the basis for creating real economic criteria for every producer and for making the economy operate more or less automatically. **We are bound to accept the world realities and take account of the new historical content of the modern world that is now forming.**

With regard to the question of the state's role, it is appropriate to point out another fact, namely that in the current year, during which the transition to the company-based organization is being carried out, the state itself will take on certain functions that in principle should be carried out, either totally or partially, by the companies.

These are functions that are vitally important for the economy during the transitional period, functions that were hitherto performed by the management structures that previously existed. The elimination of these structures creates a potential danger of a "vacuum" in the system of management until the new company-based organization begins to function fully, unless preventive measures are taken.

The influence of the state during the transitional period is also particularly vital from the viewpoint of guaranteeing the basic national balances of raw materials and food products, fulfilling our obligations to our foreign partners, financially balancing the state and territorial budgets, and so on.

During the transitional period, the state organs are empowered to make certain corrections to certain of the economic and financial regulations governing the companies' activities. This is made necessary by the objective conditions of the existing situation, in order to avoid creating difficulties in the work of the labor collectives and companies.

All these deviations have been covered by regulations drawn up by the legislator to take account of the transitional nature of the current stage of the economy's development. However, it is important that it should be understood that these regulations are temporary in nature, and that they facilitate the changeover to the company-based organization. They will remain in force until the end of the year, and their purpose is to help the radical changes in the economy take place smoothly and without shocks.

[Deliyski] The state orders will inevitably form one of the elements of the interrelations between the state and the companies. It is well-known that in other countries companies compete for state orders, from which they obtain large profits. Practical experience in recent years has shown that our goods producers often avoid the imposition of state orders. Will this remain a problem under the conditions of company-based organization?

[Ovcharov] The reason for the negative attitude toward state orders was that, in many cases, the goods producers were not provided with the necessary conditions for fulfilling them. The state order was essentially an administrative act, by which the relevant state organ unilaterally determined the subject of the order and the conditions and term for its fulfillment.

Now, under the Decree for Economic Activity and the regulations for its application, **the state order will be imposed solely by a state-economic contract between the company and the relevant state organ. The contract will define the rights and obligations of both parties and the conditions for fulfillment of the order. Under the company-based organization, there will be no opportunity to unilaterally impose obligations for whose fulfilling the necessary conditions have not been created.**

At the same time, the decree contains an emphatic requirement that state orders should not take up more than two-thirds of the company's production capacity. This guarantees that the companies will have free production capacity available to implement their own, company-based policy. On the other hand, this approach increases the companies' responsibilities for the commitments undertaken by them vis-a-vis society.

This is one aspect of the issue that is valid now. At the same time, I would also like to mention the new interpretation of state orders that is appearing at the moment. In this way, the adopted approach combines democracy in providing for wide discussion of the various alternatives with the need to apply uniform nationwide criteria for setting up the company structures. We are emphatically against the "minister's office" method of setting up the companies, but at the same time one cannot neglect social interests and the tasks of structurally and technologically reequipping the entire economy.

The main feature of the approach adopted is the desire not to eliminate or reorganize the primary production units, but to do away with the administrative "hats" and largely untie the hands of the real goods producers. According to this stance, we are preserving the national economic units only in the structure-determining and breakthrough sectors of the national economy. Large numbers of enterprises will be reorganized as independent companies.

The work completed so far on the company structures gives us grounds for believing that the new structural model for the economy will conform to the requirements of the July Concept. **The optimum combination of large, medium-sized, and small companies will provide fresh dynamism and flexibility for the economy as a whole.**

The large companies will be provided with relatively fully developed production, technological, and raw material backup, to enable them to successfully compete in the international division of labor.

The medium-sized companies will operate mainly in the sphere of manufacture of production-sharing and specialized assemblies and components, as well as in the general technical and technological infrastructure.

The small companies, which include the citizens' companies, will find the main scope for their activity in the production of goods and services for the population.

In setting up the large, structure-determining companies, the question arises of the rights of the existing major production units that are acquiring the status of divisions of companies. We should point out that, under the provisions of the decree and the regulations, the latter will operate on self-management principles, will be self-financing, will undertake independent economic initiatives, and will carry out trading activities. Of course, every firm will set specific limits for the self-management of its divisions, and these depend on each particular case.

We want to consider the situation most carefully and think everything over before making decisions on all the issues arising. At the same time, however, the process of setting up and registering the companies cannot be held up, because we cannot permit the reform we are carrying out to negatively affect the fulfillment of the plan for this year.

[Deliyski] It is clear that the establishment of the company-based organization will pass through stages separated by time—neither under time pressure, nor dragged out for an extremely long period. Could you indicate the approximate deadlines for this process?

[Ovcharov] The transition to the company-based organization will not be an easy, short-lived process. For this reason, it is hardly possible, or expedient, to set firm deadlines. Nonetheless, I consider that the formation of the state companies in the main complexes will be completed within a short time. I am thinking here of those companies that are structure-determining and make up the backbone that bears the structure of the national economy. As is well-known, the first firms with state property have already been formed in the sector of the biotechnological and chemical industries, electronics, and certain other spheres of the economy. In parallel with this, work is also underway on forming the smaller companies, with a view to creating the majority of the companies with state property within a short time scale.

The company-based organization of the economy itself presupposes increased interest on the companies' part in basic research. I am profoundly convinced that **the results of basic research will be the main source for the qualitatively new development of productive forces in the present-day conditions of international trade and the future conditions that are emerging for this trade.**

The leading world companies have long been aware of this, and accordingly are spending substantial funds on financing basic research both in their own institutes and in university science centers.

Our own leading companies in the electronics, optical electronics, biotechnology, new materials, chemistry, modern machine-building, and other sectors, who are competing for positions in international markets under conditions of sharp competition, will undoubtedly be compelled to face the issue of basic research.

The enhanced interest of the companies in basic research will clearly lead to certain adjustments in the present status quo, with regard to who may or should carry out basic research in which areas. As world experience shows, a considerable proportion of basic and basic-applied research is carried out in company laboratories and research centers, which are exceptionally well equipped with the most modern apparatus. Accordingly, it is no accident that quite a large number of the most important scientific discoveries in the last 10-15 years have been made by these same company research centers.

I am convinced that, **in the conditions of the company-based organization, we will witness a unique kind of "renaissance" in the attention paid to basic research.** However, this attention will now be enhanced by the company's immediate interest in financing research of the most varied nature, including in the arts field, which is essential for its own future development.

The new role of basic research will undoubtedly expand the "geographical map" of research work connected with solving problems of a basic and basic-applied nature. The companies' research institutes and laboratories will increase their participation in this direction, alongside the academic and higher educational scientific centers. All this creates a qualitatively new situation, in which new, untraditional solutions are sought for the financing, management, and coordination of scientific research.

This does not mean that the state will cease to finance or concern itself with the development of basic research. Quite the reverse, it will continue in the future to be nationally responsible for such research. However, the chief thing is that now the institutes and other basic research organizations are to become actively engaged in looking for new sources of financing, utilizing the opportunities for integration with the goods producers through creating joint projects, scientific-production laboratories and complexes, joint associate companies, and in other ways, because it is now exceptionally important to ensure a closer contact between science and the needs of production. In this way, the basic sciences will better direct their efforts and better meet topical needs, while production will be enhanced through the new scientific ideas.

[Deliyski] Do you believe that the possibility provided for in the decree will really come about, in that a foreign professional manager will agree to take over the leadership of a Bulgarian state or other form of company? It is no secret that a leader of this type is used to operating in a game with entirely different rules of play.

[Ovcharov] This is perfectly a feasible and realistic possibility. The decree and the regulations create very favorable conditions for every advancing economic leader or businessman to fulfill himself from the professional and human viewpoints. They may rely on stable legal and financial guarantees, that correspond to their great responsibilities as leaders of companies or members of their administrative councils.

This issue relates to a radical alteration, within the next 2-3 years, of the statute on state orders, in order to convert them from an obligatory to a competitive nature. Only when this is achieved in practice, will we be able to say that the problem of state orders no longer exists. In fact, we would have been unable to resolve this problem at all without the existence of the company-based organization.

A number of measures and factors are needed in order to carry out this transition in practice. I think that the most important and crucial factor is the existence of the company-based organization, and this will enable us to really change the conditions for state orders and the attitude of the goods producers toward them within a relatively short time.

[Deliyski] Is the reform adopted under the decree radical enough to guarantee accelerated technological renewal and the adoption of the latest achievements of technical progress by our own country and others? In particular, does not the existing Law on Inventions and Rationalizing Proposals create obstacles in this respect? Are there any guarantees that alienation from items of intellectual property, and particularly from the inventions that at present are owned by no one, will be overcome?

[Ovcharov] The company-based organization of economic activity requires a new approach toward the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and especially toward the peak achievements.

Under the conditions of the modern scientific and technical revolution and the new historical content appearing in the world, the state and economic organs must devote primary attention to the scientific and technical cadres and to creativity in all its aspects. Scientific and technical progress demands that this should be a primary concern of both the companies and their leaders. In conditions of the company-based organization and socialist competition, technological renewal and the mastering of peak achievements become a key condition for the prosperity of every producer. **The whole idea behind our economic reform is connected with the strategic task of technologically restructuring the economy.**

The form of protection provided for inventions at the moment does not correspond to either the spirit or the content of the new economic reality. At present, inventions protected by certificates of authorship are state property, which means that they are alienated from their real authors and from the companies that invested funds in them.

There is an evident need for a changeover to a legal instruction order that provides the companies with exclusive rights to the inventions created by them. This forms an inseparable part of the principles of economic self-management, without which there could be no development. **Inventions and other supreme achievements of science and technology must be transformed into a commodity that can be traded in, on the basis of realistic prices. The distribution of the latter should be set entirely on economic lines, on the basis of freely concluded license agreements, sales of patents, and joint use of patents by Bulgarian and foreign companies.**

This matters could not be resolved within the framework of the Decree on Economic Activity because of their specific nature, but an answer must be found for them in the future law on inventions.

[Deliyski] It is not clear from the decree and the regulations how the problem of the connection between the company and the basic sciences is to be resolved. Will basic research continue in the future to be financed only by the state? World practice shows that when companies finance such research, the research is much more quickly converted into scientific products with practical applications. What are the prospects for this problem to be solved in a similar way in Bulgaria?

[Ovcharov] Your question practically suggests the answer itself. However, this problem is so important that I would like to stress certain aspects of it in particular.

First of all, concerning the connection between the company and the basic sciences: It is true that neither the decree nor the regulations specifically deal with this connection, but such a link does stem from the whole context of the documents.

The municipal companies a. companies of the social organizations will be formed at the same time as the state companies. Conditions for the formation of associated companies will be created when the independent companies are set up. As far as the citizens' companies and cooperative companies are concerned, their formation depends entirely on the wishes of the interested citizens and cooperative members.

However, it should immediately be pointed out that **the registration of the companies far from completes the establishment of the company-based organization,** but the main work really only begins from this moment. This work involves the formation of an adequate social climate, a suitable economic environment, and appropriate conditions for the businesslike conduct of the companies and their leading cadres.

[Deliyski] My last question is: Would you tell us the ways by which we are to make the transition to the standards of company behavior [firmena kultura] that we so greatly need?

[Ovcharov] This issue is highly topical. The main feature determining that an economic organization is a real company, not merely one in name, is the establishment of company standards that correspond to socialist principles.

Company standards cannot be established by order or decree, but **are a product of the specific socioeconomic conditions, traditions, and the experience that we will accumulate. The Decree on Economic Activity and the regulations for its application create a new economic climate and establish fundamentally new economic interrelations between those who carry out economic activity, and between them and the state.** This economic reality requires a new kind of interrelations and the appropriate company standards. In actual fact, this means we must imbue the new structures with adequate content.

Company conduct encompasses mastering in practice the new legal base, building up an appropriate professional and, at the same time, collective style and method of leadership, and establishing new collegial and partnership interrelations between the administrative council, executive director, and the general meeting. The assimilation of leading world experience, the skill to enter international markets, and the ability to achieve the relevant technological and market breakthroughs all form inalienable parts of company standards.

However, perhaps the most important element of company standards is measured by the degree of success in ensuring that the working man is truly concerned with the company's development and interested in the results of its activity, even in the company's symbols. The chief criterion for modern standards of company conduct is that one identifies oneself with the setbacks and successes of the company and becomes part of its fate. It is precisely on this basis that we should create an atmosphere within the national economy of struggle and socialist competition, of vying with one another and continuously striving to achieve better results.

The need to create good standards of company conduct poses many responsible tasks for all the state organs, and especially for the officials of the Ministry of Planning and Economy. It is our task to protect the interests of the state and society, but we must also, to no less a degree, become the companies' helpers and concern ourselves with their development. Without such aid and mutual understanding, without partnership and sincerity in relationships, we will be unable to build up what we call company standards.

As you see, to achieve all this we need both time and persistent, humdrum, everyday work.

'Military Experts' Answer Disarmament Queries

AU2103161489

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "What Interests You in Conventional Disarmament; We Reply to the Readers of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA," both Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 March on page 6 publish the 2,500-word, second installment of answers by "leading military experts" to questions submitted by readers. The panel answers a series of questions ranging from how the Warsaw Pact gathers intelligence on NATO forces to whether or not a person with children can avoid military service.

Several readers want to know if the Ministry of National Defense is considering reducing the number of its staff and if in the foreseeable future the public will have access to military maneuver areas such as, for example, the Drahanska highlands. Colonel Antonin Vanek replies that "CSSR Government Resolution No 130 of 26 May 1988, which established the principles and course for the reduction in the number of staff in central organs, is binding in its entirety also for the Federal Ministry of National Defense (FMNO)."

The colonel adds that the FMNO is required to reduce its staff by around 30 percent, which will take place in two stages. The first stage was completed by 1 January of this year and involved cuts of 20 percent. The second stage will be completed by 30 June.

Col Vanek concludes his answer by stating that "in the interim, access to exercise areas for members of the public is not envisaged in the foreseeable future."

According to F. Volejnik from Mlada Boleslav and A. Novak from Prague-1, people are beginning to wonder how the resources that will be gained from a 15-percent cut in the military budget in the coming years will be disposed of. They then ask where the increased capacity for action of military construction organizations is directed. For example, will they help to improve the critical state of the railway? Lieutenant Colonel Engineer Karel Ruzicka replies that "the CSSR Government decides on the utilization of resources which will be gained by a reduced military budget in the coming years.

"The activity of military construction organizations should be directed toward the sphere of housing construction, the building of spas, and projects for the protection of the environment in Prague, Bratislava, and the region of West Bohemia.

"Also, units carrying out repairs and maintenance of the railway should be strengthened."

M. Topolovsky from Bratislava and K. Vanek from Prague-6 want to know if the public verification of disarmament measures will be organized and if the depots of mothballed equipment will be open to international inspection. Col Vladimir Mohyla replies that "verification is not considered to be an expression of distrust, but rather the contrary. It is the inalienable right of each state that has a hand in the measures, and it is understood as being a guarantee of the whole process. In the case of unilateral measures, in our case the mothballing of the equipment of three general-purpose Army units, the measures do not only not threaten anyone but, on the contrary, contribute considerably to strengthening military security in Europe. In such a case certain other states can verify these facts with their own national technological means. Of course, if these depots are subject to a solution within the framework of negotiations on conventional disarmament jointly with other questions of the 23 participating states, then they in the future can be liable to international verification."

O. Trepac from Nove Zamky says that in his opinion very important data are missing from the published document on the correlation of NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces: data on the amount of military spending, on the volume of arms production, on the volume of arms exports, and the income from exports by individual states in both military-political alliances. In reply to this, Lt Col Eng Karel Ruzicka states: "The method of showing military spending from the state budget is different not only in individual Warsaw Pact member states but especially in relation to the method used by the NATO member states. Therefore, any kind of comparison can lead to inaccuracies and disinformation on the amount of actual military spending."

As for the second part of Trepac's statement, he replies that "the NATO countries do not publish the total of weapons exported to other countries, let alone the level of profits made. Therefore, official figures on the comparison of the effectiveness of exports in individual sectors of the armaments industry are not at the disposal of the appropriate CSSR state organs.

"The volume of arms production, its destination, and the amount for export are the subjects of long-term intergovernment agreements which do not fall under the province of the FMNO but rather under the exclusive competence of the CSSR Government. Therefore, FMNO organs do not even have at their disposal data on the level of efficiency of the export of products of weapons manufacturing."

One reader, J. Prajzler from Prague-10, states that he has heard "that in the USSR recruits who have two children do not have to perform military service. In the CSSR this involves recruits with three children. Are the same measures or compensatory [nahradni] service permitted for these recruits? Surely this would contribute to a reduction in the divorce rate and to the security of the family." Col Jiri Svoboda first replies that Prajzler's information is incorrect, and then goes on to say that "each physically and mentally competent CSSR citizen has a duty to serve. First and foremost, this duty lies in the completion of a 24-month-long period of basic service (12 months' basic service for graduates of university military departments) or a 5-month compensatory term of service.

"Recruits are appointed to compensatory service at their request mainly for family, social, and economic reasons, and on the assumption that more persons were drafted than is necessary for the peaceful supplementation of the CSSR Armed Forces."

The colonel completes his answer by saying that "excusing recruits with two or more children from taking part in active military service is not contemplated."

J. Malanikova from Gottwaldov wants to know how the Warsaw Pact member states gather data on the military strength of NATO countries. Col Eng Pavel Trusil replies that this is done by "using and evaluating public information that is published in specialist military journals and in the daily newspapers of capitalist countries, and by evaluating radio and television broadcasts from these states. There are also offices of CSSR military and air force attaches abroad which on the basis of the 1961 Vienna treaty on diplomatic relations, which was signed on the whole by 110 sovereign states (the CSSR ratified it in 1963), are entitled to inform their government about the military issues in the country of their assignment. Besides that, every army in the world, and ours too, is by its activity in its own territory capable of acquiring appropriate data of a specialist military nature on other states." Trusil points out that "the CSSR employs only internationally admissible methods of acquiring and verifying data," methods that "harm no one."

Jan Matiasko from Prievidza wants to know "how much one tank, a fighter aircraft, or other types of arms cost at the present." Lt Col Eng Karel Ruzicka replies that "prices of military technology are calculated differently in individual countries, and therefore it is impossible to compare them objectively. It depends on the appropriations policy and on the extent to which the state participates in research, development, and technology. It also depends on manufacturing conditions and on the level of inflation. This also applies to prices of military technology manufactured by CSSR industry, which are different for domestic supplies (for the Czechoslovak People's Army) than for foreign export. The Czechoslovak People's Army buys military technology at wholesale prices set by the State Planning Commission on the basis of real outlays expended in production.

"To give you an idea: The price of a contemporary training aircraft of CSSR manufacture (the L-39) is comparable to the price of roughly two T-72 tanks and to one-quarter of the price of a fighter aircraft."

One reader, J. Castka from Gottwaldov, wants to know if plans for converting military technology or for reassigning arms-manufacturing plants to civilian use, for example for electronics, exist in the CSSR. Lt Col Eng Karel Ruzicka replies that "in CSSR industry there are no plants completely devoted to arms production, not even those that manufacture final products. Each plant manufacturing military technology participates to a certain extent in civilian manufacture in accordance with the needs of the national economy, and in conjunction with the effective utilization of production capacities. Therefore, given the reduction in the needs of the Czechoslovak People's Army, this will involve the purposeful expansion of civilian programs, including electronic and other modern and progressive products, without even having to change in a fundamental manner the nature of the plant." The colonel adds that the change "will manifest itself differently in a plant with a higher percentage of arms production than in a plant with a lower or small percentage. In plants with a higher percentage of arms production, this can influence the structure and utilization of the engineering equipment and also the utilization of the qualifications of personnel." The colonel concludes his answer by saying that the transfer to civilian production should not be a problem for such plants and that employees need not fear for their jobs.

Government Approves New Pricing System

LD2303162589 Prague CTK in English 1520 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 23 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government approved at its regular session today regulations of a new system of harmonizing prices with production and sales conditions, which will replace single adjustments of wholesale and purchasing prices, made so far.

The government discussed once again a proposal for measures to eliminate the main shortcomings on the home market in 1989. It noted that in contrast with the originally approved state plan, this year's retail trade turnover is expected to be by 5,000 million crowns higher and the volume of deliveries to the market will rise by 10,000 to 11,000 million crowns. A total of 600 million crowns will be earmarked this year for the modernization of the consumer industry.

The government took a number of measures aimed at preventing rises in planned exports, and making use of the claims Czechoslovakia has in some developing countries. The government stressed that none of these measures can be carried out at the cost of higher debts in convertible currencies.

Provisions for Economic Reform Examined

AU2303090989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Mar 89 p 1

[Editorial: "What the Center Is Doing for the Reform"]

[Excerpts] The basic prerequisites for successful economic reform are suitable conditions for developing the initiative of working collectives and a demanding atmosphere in the area of the enterprises' economy. This is the main content of the current restructuring of our economic mechanism. [passage omitted]

However, the old rules of management are currently ceasing to apply, while the new rules are not yet fully operational. That is why the period of transition to the full implementation of the new economic principles must be as short as possible. [passage omitted]

Certain risks, which could complicate our economic activities under the new conditions, are already known. They are due, inter alia, to the present structural and general imbalance and to the predomination of demand over supply, particularly on the domestic market and in investments. There is also the danger of more serious breakdowns in supplier-consumer relations; we will also have to deal with the fact that monetary incomes are growing far more quickly than the utility values are being created. Other problems can crop up as well.

However, the central agencies' main task at present is to skillfully prepare and provide for the strategy of acceleration and a long-term conceptual development of our entire national economy. We must add that all these tasks are being accomplished simultaneously with the gradual 30-percent reduction of the apparatus of our central agencies, which should be completed by 30 June 1989.

The process of reorganizing and rationalizing the activities of central agencies and of setting up a unified national economic central office will be completed in the 1st half of 1989. The last stage of the structural reorganization of our scientific, technical, and research base and of the distribution base of our national economy into state enterprises will be completed by 1 July; it will place considerable demands on the branch ministries in particular, which are functioning as founders [of state enterprises]. Moreover, the central office is now working out the principles for a structural reorganization and change in the economy of our nonproduction sphere.

In connection with the accelerated implementation of the new economic mechanism, we are preparing a broad palette of other legal norms and regulations, above all, the law on national economy planning, which should provide for a more effective planned management of the economy and an accelerated socioeconomic development of society. The central office will purposefully design and direct the development of Czechoslovakia's national economy, both as a whole and in its separate portions and relations, in line with the society-wide goals and intentions. This will involve making changes in planning methods and will emphatically reduce the number and binding nature of many of the current balances, limits, project management and coordination actions, and other similar tools which are hampering initiative and tying the hands of economic organizations.

Other legal norms—the foreign currency law, the law on levies and taxes, the rules for financial economy, the loan and interest policy, and the orientation of means set apart for wages—will also be approved this year and introduced into practice by 1 January 1990 at the latest. The smooth adjustment of wholesale and retail prices is being worked out in connection with their restructuring at the beginning of this year, so that their development will better reflect society's interests in the Czechoslovak economy, while also bearing in mind the levels of foreign prices.

The 1990 plan is already being prepared according to the new principles. However, rules alone are not sufficient. We cannot rely only on new laws and economic tools which, together with organizational changes, the operation of socialist self-management, and the elections of directors, establish legal prerequisites for a radical turn in the economy. The success of the reform primarily depends upon the people. The main thing is to speed up the changes taking place in the contents, style, work methods, and general behavior of all management relations, from the center down to enterprises and their units.

A few days ago the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] approved the program for preparing cadre reserves under the conditions of restructuring. The most energetic members and candidate members of the CPCZ and of other political parties, but also people without party affiliation who possess the corresponding class, political, professional, and moral qualities and character for carrying out their future function, will be selected to hold the posts of leading economic executives. [passage omitted]

The purpose of all of the measures is to prepare the general public for the new economic conditions and rules.

Federal Assembly Continues Session 21 Mar

Defense Minister Vaclavik Speaks

LD2103212789 Prague CTK in English
1632 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—Chairman of the House of Nations Foreign Affairs Committee Vaclav Stafek stressed today that an honourable fulfilment of commitments must be a matter of course for all signatories of the Helsinki and Vienna documents and must serve to build confidence and cooperation.

Speaking in the debate following the joint meeting of the House of the People and House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, Vaclav Stafek said that "unfortunately, we are witnesses of the West having recently launched a broad anti-Czechoslovak campaign, with reference to the Vienna Document, in protest against the action of Czechoslovak police against persons who broke public order in Prague. These events are directed by foreign hostile centres and organized by people in foreign pay", Vaclav Stafek said, and stressed that "it is necessary to explain to all people, particularly young people, but we shall not explain anything to traitors who go against socialism and do it consciously".

The enemies of socialism were joined also by some Czechoslovak artists, scientists and other citizens who demanded the Czechoslovak premier to intervene in favour of Vaclav Havel, punished for hooliganism and organizing demonstrations in Prague, he said. "Our working people appreciate art and artists but this does not mean such art and artists who show hostility to socialism and use Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America as their mouthpiece and respect the advice of the enemies. In the past we were convinced that it is the artists who can serve also for our young people as a certain example. Naturally, we have to correct somewhat our opinions on some of them now", Vaclav Stafek said.

Defence Minister General Milan Vaclavik recalled in his address the unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces and equipment of the Warsaw Treaty member states, involving an overall reduction of troops by 300,000, and the liquidation of 12,000 tanks and 930 warplanes.

General Vaclavik said that intentions of NATO countries aimed at the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles, conventional weapons and the development of new weapons systems pose a danger to the process of detente and disarmament. Under these circumstances, these unilateral measures have their limits beyond which the principle of balance and sufficiency would be violated without adequate measures of the other side, he said. He added that positive tendencies in disarmament have not yet become irreversibly and are being asserted in the military sphere very slowly and with difficulty.

PRC, DPRK Agreements Approved

LD2103213589 Prague CTK in English
1814 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today approved a Czechoslovak-Austrian agreement on cooperation in preventing and exposing crimes and ensuring road traffic safety, a consular agreement between Czechoslovakia and China, and a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Czechoslovak-Austrian agreement on cooperation in preventing and exposing crimes and ensuring road traffic safety, signed in Prague on June 21, 1988, demonstrates bilateral interest in the development of cooperation in the spirit of the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The agreement follows up 58 previously concluded bilateral documents. It provides for a joint settlement of problems connected with prevention of crimes and their detection and for access to information useful particularly in the struggle against drug trafficking and against international terrorism.

The Federal Assembly also approved a consular agreement between Czechoslovakia and China, signed in Beijing on September 5, 1988, which proceeds from the multilateral Vienna accord on consular contacts. It specifies consular functions and in the sphere concerning consular privileges and immunity it goes beyond the framework of the Vienna accord and brings the position of the consular office and its members close to the position of the diplomatic mission. The agreement deals with these issues in the spirit of the developing tendency of the consular law, asserted mainly by the socialist states.

The treaty of friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, signed in Pyongyang on September 11, 1988 and approved by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly here today, is a significant political and legal document, which confirms the level of mutual relations and at the same time envisages their further development.

The Federal Assembly also approved an agreement between Czechoslovakia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on mutual legal assistance in civil, family and criminal affairs, signed in Pyongyang on September 11, 1988.

Johanes Views CSCE, Visa Policy

LD2203082889 Prague CTK in English
2045 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—After the debate at the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly meeting here Tuesday [21 March], Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes thanked the deputies for significant impulses and answered their questions.

Answering the questions of how do other states inform their public on the conclusions of the final document adopted at the CSCE Vienna follow-up meeting, Jaromir Johanes said that in Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, the document has been published in a great number of copies (140,000 in Czechoslovakia), while in West Germany only in 55,000 and in the USA in 8,000 copies. He pointed out that the public in socialist countries is much better informed about the final document and the results of the Vienna follow-up meeting and mass media of communications in these countries pay to them more attention than their Western partners. "We would like to bring these facts to the Western state's attention and point to our greater flexibility in this sphere in harmony with the document signed in Vienna", Jaromir Johanes said.

As to the application of the Vienna final document in Czechoslovakia's legal practice, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said the federal government will work out measures for its realization by May 31, and these measures will be implemented in the course of this year.

The majority of tasks can be fulfilled immediately—the Czechoslovak legal order provides necessary prerequisites for it. In some cases concrete amendments to legal regulations should be proposed, and the Vienna document will be taken into account in drafting new bills and in the elaboration of a new constitution, Jaromir Johanes said, adding that the document should be observed consistently also by the Western countries.

Dealing with the visa practice of capitalist states towards Czechoslovak citizens, Jaromir Johanes said there are no changes in this sphere despite the appeals of the final document from Vienna for its simplification, e.g. a West German visa for a Czechoslovak citizen becomes valid on the ninth day after the date of issue, visas are not being isued on the West German border crossings though the Czechoslovak side has already introduced this practice. Neither Austria, nor any other Western countries do this. The Czechoslovak consular authorities issue visas practically within two days, but a French visa must be applied for three weeks in advance, a Canadian two or three weeks and the U.S. consular and diplomatic authorities act in harmony with a discrimination law, according to which members of progressive organizations are not allowed to receive a U.S. visa. The U.S. consular section sometimes insists on a preliminary dialogue with the applicant who is to answer questions which have nothing in common with tourism or a business trip, Jaromir Johanes explained.

In Czechoslovakia visas are being issued within 48 hours, validity of transition visas has been prolonged from 24 to 48 hours. Visa application forms are much simpler than those of capitalist countries, the Czechoslovak minister said.

The flexibility, good will and willingness to observe the conclusions of the Vienna Final Act in this sphere is more evident on the Czechoslovak side and the Western countries should follow this example, Jaromir Johanes stressed.

Resolution on Johanes' Report

LD2103225389 Prague CTK in English
2117 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly expects the Czechoslovak Government to extend its foreign policy activities in the interest of creating favourable peaceful conditions for the development of the socialist system in the country.

This was stressed in a Federal Assembly resolution on the Czechoslovak foreign ministers' report dealing with topical questions of the country's foreign policy.

The Federal Assembly pointed out that it is necessary to promote friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, to make political and economic cooperation in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) more effective.

The Federal Assembly supported disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including unilateral reductions of arms and armed forces which creates preconditions for further relaxation of international tension and for the promotion of the atmosphere of confidence among states and nations.

Czechoslovakia has also submitted proposals contributing to the improvement of the international situation. The parliament participates in explaining, pushing through and working out the initiative for creating the zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

The Federal Assembly supported the Czechoslovak premier's proposal for a meeting of premiers of countries neighbouring on Czechoslovakia, to discuss ecological issues, as well as other Czechoslovak initiatives in political, military, economic, cultural, scientific, and humanitarian spheres.

The Federal Assembly welcomed the final document of the CSCE Vienna follow-up meeting and pledged to check up its implementation by Czechoslovak authorities and institutions.

The Federal Assembly said in its resolution that despite growing positive tendencies in international relations, a basic change has not yet been achieved. The new way of thinking has not yet become a dominant norm in international relations. There still exist voices trying to force other countries into sharing their ideas of human rights and democracy. They wilfully "give marks" to individual socialist countries and according to them they apply their discriminating measures in the sphere of economy, policy etc. All this runs counter to the vital concerns of mankind, the resolution said.

The Federal Assembly stressed the necessity to improve informative activities of Czechoslovak institutions and organizations abroad, to create a true picture of Czechoslovakia in the world.

Czechoslovakia will further strive for a political settlement of problems and for the development of all-round cooperation between states and nations.

Jakes Chairs National Front Presidium Session

LD2003225289 Prague CTK in English
2027 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 20 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee Presidium, led by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and

National Front Central Committee Chairman Milos Jakes, appreciated here Monday [20 March] at its session the active attitude of the National Front bodies, political parties, social and interest organizations towards the Communist Party Central Committee statement on the 41st anniversary of the victorious February.

The number of views sent to the National Front Central Committee is an expression of confidence of the Czechoslovak public in the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the National Front, an expression of support for the program of restructuring of society and the deepening of socialist democracy.

The Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee further dealt with preparations for the by-elections to the House of the People and the House of the Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly to be held on April 20, 1989, in nine electoral districts in Czechoslovakia.

The preparation and the course of by-elections will test several aspects of a new electoral system contributing to the deepening of the democratic character of elections in harmony with the election laws.

In the framework of a democratic choice of candidates, a total of 106 proposals have been submitted by work teams, political parties and social organizations of the National Front. Twenty candidates for nine electoral districts were approved for by-elections to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly House of the Nations and the House of the People.

By-Election Candidates Discussed

AU2203123689

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 21 March on page 1, under the headline "Several Candidates Fielded for the First Time in Constituencies for Federal Assembly Elections," carries a 1,000-word CTK report on the 20 March session of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee Presidium, which discussed, inter alia, preparations for by-elections to the CSSR Federal Assembly to be held in nine constituencies on 20 April. The RUDE PRAVO report includes the complete list of the 20 candidates who have been "approved for registration" as candidates for the People's Chamber or the Chamber of Nations in the 20 April by-elections. The RUDE PRAVO list reveals that the candidates competing in these "first multi-candidate elections" for the CSSR Federal Assembly include 10 manual workers, 4 senior industrial managers, 3 directors of cooperative farms, 2 health care employees, and 1 "political worker" (Frantiska Bestova, leading secretary of the Ostrava City Committee of the Czechoslovak Women's Union). In two constituencies (Teplice-West and Trinec), there will be three candidates for a seat in the Federal Assembly, while in the remaining seven constituencies (Mlada Boleslav, Domazlice-Klatovy, Hodonin, Ostrava I, Havirov, Nitra, and Ilava) there will be two candidates.

PCI Stance on Dubcek Ignores 1968 Failures

AU2203081189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Mar 89 p 7

[Miroslav Kubin article: "A Broad Spectrum of Problems; the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party Has Begun in Rome; the Speech by A. Occhetto, General Secretary of the Party"]

[Excerpts] Rome (our correspondent)—On Saturday [18 March] in Rome's Palace of Sport, the 18th Congress of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] opened under the slogans "A new Communist Party in Italy and in Europe" and "It is time for an alternative." More than 1,000 delegates elected from grass-roots organizations and several thousand invited guests are taking part in the congress, among them leading representatives of all the Italian political parties and trade unions.

A total of 105 foreign delegations from communist and workers parties and from national liberation and ecological movements are present at the congress. Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium, leads the CPCZ delegation. Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, heads the USSR delegation.

PCI General Secretary Achille Occhetto outlined in his main speech the principal aims of the PCI's new course, which was discussed in detail in the party base. [passage omitted]

In speaking about contemporary developments in the USSR, the general secretary expressed the hope that restructuring will be successfully implemented. Occhetto also attempted to pin a label on some socialist countries. He accused Romania of isolationist immobility. As far as the CSSR is concerned, he found in it "a wound which must be healed." According to his speech, what is at issue is "the restoration of political honor to Alexander Dubcek, and not only to him but also to the whole experience of the Prague Spring." Neither Occhetto nor the press, which has recently unleashed a campaign concerning Dubcek, mentioned one word about the fact that in 1968 Dubcek bore the main responsibility for the nonrealization of the regeneration measures which had resulted from the January meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee, and that Dubcek today represents no real political force. In another part of his speech Occhetto stressed that at present the PCI is seriously striving for the unification of socialists and communists, and "all reformist forces." [passage omitted]

Dubcek 1968 Actions Criticized

LD2203102489 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] The following commentary written by Radio Prague's Frantisek Vonderka is an answer to a Radio Prague listener's question about who Alexander Dubcek is.

In his letter to Radio Prague, Mr Maximiliano Paroli from Milan writes: I can't see how it is possible that the Italian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] hold different positions on the personality of Alexander Dubcek. Can it be that there are two truths, one which sharply condemns the former first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and the other which praises him as a man of honor who, according to the Italian Communist Party, continues to be a communist and a fighter for socialist ideals?

Well, indeed, there cannot be two truths at the same time, and one will agree that the basic criterion for telling truth from what is not true is practice, life. This criterion applies for polticians as well. If history is to be judged objectively it should be done on the basis of deeds, not just words and promises.

So what are the facts in the case of Alexander Dubcek? One cannot deny that when he became the first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee in January 1968 he had the sympathy of the vast majority of the Czechoslovak public. He had the support of all those who sought an end to red tape and called for economic and political reforms. Dubcek's name was associated in many people with the renewal of true socialism in Czechoslovakia. These are the facts on which the leaders of the Italian Communist Party base their assessment of the personality of Alexander Dubcek.

But it is also a fact that none of the hopes invested by the public in Dubcek and his Central Committee ever materialized. Principled solutions just lapsed and the Dubcek leadership seems to let things take care of themselves—that at a time when the antisocialist forces were taking high ground, having capitalized on the disarray that prevailed. Dubcek remained impassive even to organizations like Club 231, which were campaigning on the platform that the best Communist is a dead Communist. Not even after the 21st of August 1968 could Dubcek bring himself to taking a firm stand of a Communist towards the antisocialist and anti-Soviet elements. Eventually Alexander Dubcek fell victim to his own political indecision which weakened the positions of the Communist Party in the society. He was therefore replaced in his post in April 1969, and a new leadership came in determined to deal with the continuing crisis within the party and in the country at large.

Of course, the past 20 years since that time have not been error-free, and now one can witness wide discussions going on here on what has and has not been accomplished and why. Alexander Dubcek does not want to stay aloof. He steps in offering his recipe of 1986 for carrying out the present reforms, and he still denies that it was under his leadership that the antisocialist forces here gained in strength. This is also a fact, and if a Communist ignores it he distorts history.

Jakes Receives Departing Romanian Envoy

LD2303213689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] Central Committee, received Ion Patsan, ambassador of the Romanian Socialist Republic to Czechoslovakia, in Prague today. The audience took place prior to the ambassador ending his diplomatic mission in the country.

Rights Mechanism Discussed With Netherlands Group

LD1603235689 Prague CTK in English 1954 GMT 16 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 16 (CTK)— At the request of the Dutch side, a meeting of delegations of the Czechoslovak and Dutch Foreign Ministries took place here today according to a new human dimensions mechanism established on the basis of the Vienna follow-up meeting final document.

The two sides informed each other of their approaches to ensuring the obligations in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian cooperation. The meeting took place in an open and constructive atmosphere.

Apostolic Church Conference Opens 17 Mar

AU2003145189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Mar 89 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone" column]

[Text] The Conference of the Apostolic Church in the Czech Socialist Republic, combined with elections of the Central Board of Presbyters and of the chairman, was opened in Cesky Tesin-Zukov on Friday [17 March]. The more than 70 delegates welcomed guests from abroad in their midst. Rudolf Bubik, who was elected chairman, stressed that the believers of this church want their creative work to contribute toward further developing the CSSR and to support the efforts to preserve peace.

Karoly Grosz Departs for Moscow 23 Mar

*LD2303150989 Budapest MTI in English
1417 GMT 23 Mar 89*

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, left for a working visit to Moscow on Thursday [23 March], at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. His entourage includes Laszlo Major, head of the Office of the Central Committee, as well as Gyula Thurmer, foreign policy advisor to the general secretary.

Activities in USSR

For reportage on the Moscow visit of Karoly Grosz, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party general secretary, including his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary, see the East Europe section of the 23 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

National Assembly Sesssion, Debate Continue

Strike Law Adopted, Detailed

*LD2303154889 Budapest MTI in English
1230 GMT 23 Mar 89*

[Text] Budapest, March 23, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—On Wednesday [22 March], the Hungarian parliament approved the first Hungarian strike law with 17 votes against and 27 abstentions.

The draft of the bill was formulated on the basis of international experience, and notes were compared with the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, the unions and alternative organizations.

Several alternative organizations, and even the Central Council of Trade Unions (CCTU), had rejected previous drafts, on the grounds that they were expressly restrictive and contrary to the spirit of international conventions.

Originally, the fundamental understanding was that workers are entitled to the right to strike only to protest against employers' decisions.

The government, however, did not wish parliament to approve a restrictive law, for such a law would have gone against its own interests too, said State Secretary Csaba Halmos, president of the State Office for Wages and Labour.

The government has now modified its own earlier position, and has acknowledged the people's right to strike for the protection of their social and economic interests.

The new strike law declares that the right to strike shall be granted to workers to secure their economic and social interests. Participation is voluntary, so no one will be forced either to take part in a strike, or to refrain from striking. But employers and employees must cooperate in the exercise of the right to strike.

An important element, and one that has been debated for months, is the solidarity strike, which is now incorporated in the law as a right for unions to stage.

Otherwise, the law contains no restriction as to who may call a strike. The unions and workers' collectives are both within their right to call a strike provided conciliatory moves have failed to bring results within seven days.

Industrial action may be deemed unlawful if it is for some goal that is against the Constitution or against a measure or omission by employers, the sticking point of which can be settled by a court.

Strikes will also be deemed unlawful if they are called for the amendment of some measure contained in a pending collective bargain between employers and employees. If workers want a strike, the relevant article of the collective bargain must be suspended.

The courts, Armed Forces, police and auxilliary armed units are not allowed to go on strike.

Government agencies may stage a strike under a separate regulation issued jointly by the Council of Ministers and the affected trade unions.

No strike can be staged if it would potentially directly and seriously harm life and health and inflict bodily harm or prevent the removal of the consequences of an act of God.

Limited strikes may be staged, however, in jobs fundamentally affecting the population, such as public transport and services, so that the said services are provided to a sufficient degree.

No measures may be taken against those who initiate a strike or take part in legitimate industrial action.

Workers on strike are not entitled to pay or other benefits for the duration of the industrial action.

It was stated during the parliamentary debate, as well as in the answer of State Secretary Csaba Halmos, that strike funds were classified secret, and are therefore exempt from tax.

Social Property, Education Viewed

*LD2303215789 Budapest MTI in English
1741 GMT 23 Mar 89*

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—There were several interpellations at the Thursday [23 March] session of the Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest. Istvan Pregun, the MP from Szabolcs-Szatmar County, rector of the Greek Catholic College of Theology in Nyiregyhaza, interpellated the minister of finance on raising the state subsidy for church-run secondary schools. He requested the minister of finance to replace the prevailing state aid system with church-run schools being given a refunding of expenses for students who do not go to state schools.

Miklos Villanyi, minister of finance, admitted in his reply that the system of subsidizing schools run by churches or other organizations was not based on unified principles. Therefore, he finds it justified that the subsidies to church schools be determined in future in terms of the number of students. The minister saw possibilities for a unification as early as the 1990 budget, independently from how the schools are run. He called attention to the fact that the financial support of churches was significantly raised by the 1989 budget from 174 million to 374 million forints.

The interpellator and the other MPs accepted the minister's reply.

Kalman Szabo (Budapest), head of department at the Karl Marx University of Economics, interpellated on the sale of state company concerns to foreign citizens. He stressed the need for the Council of Ministers to request the authorization of parliament to carry out the planned measures aimed at a better utilization of state property. At present there are no adequate methods of capital assessment.

In his reply, Finance Minister Miklos Villanyi said that the government is determined to present to parliament its ideas related to a more effective system of operating social property, and to make a proposal on working out a legal solution with guarantees. The foreign sale of state company concerns, which differs from the formation of joint ventures, is now under preparation. If the particular concerns of a state company sell at a reasonable price, the national wealth will not decrease. The finance minister said it is proposed that the transformation law should include a section allowing for governmental intervention should there be palpable reduction of assets. Mr Villanyi's reply to the interpellation was adopted with one vote against and two abstentions.

Minister Queried on 'Show Trials'

LD2303221689 Budapest MTI in English 2104 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—In the parliament, the interpellations and replies were followed by questions.

Ferenc Sztrapak (Bacs-Kiskun County) asked the justice minister what measures are being taken to make available the documents of the show trials, as some people convicted on trumped-up charges have not yet been legally rehabilitated.

Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar said that thorough investigations were under way in the document search, some of which however, have been destroyed. As a repeat hearing would be too great a load for the courts, a committee will probably be set up to ascertain which trials were show trials. In all probability, Mr Kulcsar said, the ministry will propose that parliament draft a law declaring the people sentenced innocent. Nevertheless, the court will shortly start a revision of some 15-16 trials which were clearly show trials in nature, including business, conspiracy, military and church cases.

Answering a further question, Mr Kulcsar said that a proposal was being made for annuling the act of 1953 commemorating Stalin.

Following the questions and answers, Speaker Matyas Szuros moved, on the basis of an MP's proposal from Wednesday [22 March], that a committee should be set up to advise parliament on how to select the points of agenda in the remainder of its official terms. MPs accepted the proposal, and with this the March session of parliament was closed.

Nemeth Discusses Future Government Appointments

LD2403050789 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by Laszlo Juszt; date, place not given]

[Text] Several people asked in the parliamentary session and in the hallways whether it is necessary to always give a vote of confidence in a given idea or new action, if these are hallmarked by old names that are no longer absolutely sparkling brightly. Laszlo Juszt asked the prime minister this as well.

[Begin recording] [Juszt] Many people ask why the prime minister does not set aside those people who earlier, in the case of big investments, are characterized by big investments that are recognized to have turned out badly? In other words, why do you not finally put someone in these posts who can be believed, someone who is still respected?

[Nemeth] Well, first of all, if this—that is to say this or that decision on large investments—had depended on a given individual, then I think it would be easy to settle the situation and the conscience of the country. Unfortunately, this was the decisionmaking mechanism of an entire system, the absolute lack of openness, the secrecy, the fact that for decades we brought before parliament decisions that do not belong to a parliament, while we also did not bring certain decisions before parliament, decisions that would have been good to bring here. Therefore, I do not think it is useful to simplify this down to certain individuals. It is indeed true that in the process of the preparations for the world exhibition, we will replace with others those who have carried out the work up to the present. However, I did not consider it expedient to decide this prior to the session of parliament, because the majority of parliament, or a proportion of parliament, might have taken this to mean that the government had once again assumed a commitment that puts the deputies into a forced situation. I truly honestly believe that we will listen to the parliamentary deputies' proposals and advice, and if the majority give their support, then we will appoint a government commissioner.

[Juszt] I understand your justifications, and I do not envy your position, for after all this is a sort of Catch-22 situation, if you like, because at the same time in the forefront there figures...

[Nemeth, interrupting] There are many such Catch-22 situations.

[Juszt] At the same time, there figures in the forefront, such as the program leader, the name of one who earlier...

[Nemeth, interrupting] Comrade Marjai will not do this. As for who will do this in the future, there are rumors about that as well. The name of Comrade Somogyi, former minister of construction, is circulating. I can envision him as doing this, but others do not consider him good for this. At the same time, I would like to appoint alongside a more experienced leader a few young people as well, perhaps as deputies, or as his deputy, who, if I may so put it, would consider bringing together and directing this project the great opportunity of their lives. [end recording]

Minister Csehak Discusses Possible Resignation

LD2303232289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] I have asked Judit Csehak whether she is giving up her post as minister of social welfare and health. Is this rumor true?

[Csehak] Naturally one is always faced with the possibility of being dismissed or replaced, and one must mentally prepare for this. I do not want to resign. It is possible that parliament, public opinion, or a profession can give a vote of no confidence in a minister because of an unpopular measure. Still, even with this knowledge, this measure, the one concerning medicine—we had to introduce it. We did not have the opportunity, either from a professional or a material point of view, to introduce an alternative measure.

[Correspondent] We are asking you this as a minister, but you are also a Politburo member. Why is your stand on political issues often unheard, and why does the fact that you are a politician remain in the background?

[Csehak] I, too, share this sense of absence. There is an explanation for it but no real excuse. To fulfill these two tasks simultaneously is exceedingly difficult—and to do it well [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] Does this mean that you soon will be forced to resign one of the two posts on the basis of a sober evaluation?

[Csehak] Yes, that is my experience. This is my end of a year of self-evaluation.

[Correspondent] Which one would you resign?

[Csehak] I have now managed to dispel one question of public opinion, so let let me sow another with this answer.

Government Has Not Presented Awards to Ceausescu

LD2303215189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Excerpts] In Budapest, in the vicinity of the Romanian Embassy, a demonstration lasting several hours was held by members of Romania Libera—in other words, Free Romania—the organization of Romanian nationals who have fled to Hungary. Far from their homeland, they were remembering that they had had to leave their homes on account of the politician who has stood at the head of the Romanian Government and party for 24 years. It is a question of Nicolae Ceausescu. [passage omitted]

Correspondent Gyorgy Nika telephoned Lajos Toth, leader of the Presidential Council's department for awards, to ask whether Nicolae Ceausescu has received any awards from Hungary:

[Begin recording] [Toth] To the best of my knowledge, and our registers support this—at least from 1957 onwards—the Hungarian Presidential Council has not awarded any distinction to the Romanian leader.

[Nika] This must be unparalleled, I believe, in relations among the socialist countries. I remember that generally at high-level meetings it is customary for heads of state and politicians to decorate each other.

[Toth] Perhaps I can give my private opinion on this. It is not unparalleled insofar as this kind of approach by the Hungarian Government also proves that earlier, too, it had an opinion on the activity of the Romanian leader in question. It may be that at that time this was not given as much publicity as it is now. But this hallmarked the fact that at that time, too, they decided that they would refrain from awarding him honors. [end recording]

Journalists Protest Romanian Detentions

LD2303133189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] The Hungarian Journalists Association [MUOSZ] Presidium has protested with a telegram the fact that in Romania three journalists have been arrested. The body, in its telegram addressed to the Romanian Journalists Council, demands that the newspaper journalists who are struggling for human rights and democracy should immediately be released. The MUOSZ Presidium has condemned this crude violation of the freedom of speech and of the press in Romania.

Increased State of 'Alert' Noted in Romania

AU2403092289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Mar 89 p 6

[MTI report: "Romania—Increased Alert"]

[Text] The daily VOROS LOBOGO, published in Arad, calls upon its readers to be more alert, to defend the country's sovereignty, and to strictly observe the law. Following SCINTEIA, ROMANIA LIBERA, and SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, the county dailies are now also dealing with this area of domestic political propaganda. The dailies began this campaign following the announcement by the Romanian attorney general of the arrest of Mircea Raceanu, who "served the intelligence services of a foreign power."

According to information from Amnesty International, the three journalists and one printer who were arrested in January for allegedly printing and distributing leaflets condemning President Nicolae Ceausescu, are being subjected to physical and mental duress.

Imre Pozsgay Begins Visit to Italy

Departs Budapest 17 Mar

LD1703233589 Budapest MTI in English 1011 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI)—At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy [CPI], State Minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Committee, left for Rome on Friday [17 March] at the head of a party delegation representing the HSWP.

The delegation will be attending the 18th CPI Congress between March 18 and 22.

Meets With SFRY's Suvar, Others

LD1903211189 Budapest MTI in English 1959 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Rome, March 19 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee and minister of state, who is currently heading a delegation to the congress of the Italian Communist Party, held talks with Renato Zangheri, member of the Italian Communist Party's leadership and chairman of the group of Communist MPs of the Italian house of representatives, and Antonio Bassolino, member of the Communist Party's leadership and in charge of trade union matters.

At the congress, Mr Pozsgay met Stipe Suvar, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The sides reported on the situation of the two countries, the efforts taken to overcome the crisis, the reforms and the tasks of socialist renewal which are fundamentally the same, as was disclosed during the meeting.

Mr Suvar and Mr Pozsgay also agreed that socialist renewal can only be ensured by safeguarding good-neighbourly relations, and the seeking of paths by the two parties. Mr Suvar reconfirmed Mr Pozsgay's invitation to Yugoslavia.

Mr Pozsgay also met Gianni de Michelis, the Socialist vice-president of the Italian Government, and held discussion on the chances of creating the unity of the European left-wing. Mr de Michelis spoke highly about the Hungarian reforms which, in his view, follow the only possible road in critical times, accepting the risks of radical changes. Mr de Michelis was of the opinion that Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia and Hungary can create new cooperation relations, thereby contributing to the reshaping of the all-European relations. Mr Pozsgay stressed that this can be made a reality by intensifying the bonds of economic cooperation.

Mr Pozsgay held talks with Karsten Voigt, in charge of international affairs of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] party of the FRG, who outlined the ways that the Westen European left-wing, social democracy can help Hungary join the activity of the Europe Council (the 21-member Western European inter-governmental organization). At the same time Mr Voigt warned: The neutrality efforts stressed in Hungary can upset the established European balances, and this would not help but would slow down the Hungarian reform process.

On Sunday [19 March] afternoon, Mr Pozsgay visited the papal Hungarian Institute in Rome. At a friendly discussion, he informed the institute's church leaders and scholarship-holders about the Hungarian reform plans, the constitutionalization process which, by establishing constitutional statehood, can guarantee the complete freedom of conscience among the democratic human rights. Also present at the meeting was Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom, and Gyorgy Misur, Hungarian ambassador to Rome.

Holds Talks With Pope

LD2003234489 Budapest MTI in English 2020 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Vatican City, March 20 (MTI)—On Monday [20 March], Pope John Paul II gave a private audience to Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, who is staying in Rome. The cordial meeting lasted for half an hour.

The sides discussed the pope's visit to Hungary that is scheduled to take place September 1991. Mr Pozsgay reconfirmed that the entire Hungarian people were greatly looking forward to the visit.

The pope showed profound interest in the changes in Hungary. Mr Pozsgay informed him on Hungary's internal policy endeavours and the preparations for the new constitution. He emphasized that the establishment of a constitutional state would fully guarantee the freedom of conscience for the citizens, while the relationship betweeen state and church would be based on new foundations, eliminating all forms of patronage. This will be made official in compliance with the new constitutions by an act on church affairs which is currently being drafted.

Mr Pozsgay said that the church, the sheet-anchor of people of Hungarian nationality, is in extreme peril in Romania. The pope made repeated references to the similiarities between the Hungarian and Polish history, and the common traditions of the two peoples.

In the Vatican Mr Pozsgay was accompanied by Gyorgy Misur, Hungarian ambassador to Italy, and Csaba Tabajdi, deputy head of the department of international party relations at the HSWP Central Committee.

After the visit, Mr Misur and Mr Pozsgay gave lunch for several leaders of the religious government of the Holy See: Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, president of the pontifical commission for justice and peace, Cardinal Paul Poupard, president of the secretariat for non-believers, Titular Archbishop Angelo Sodano, secretary of the council for the public affairs of the church, Titular Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, nuncio of special commission, Zakar Polikarp, arch-abbot of the Cistercian order, and Joaquin Navarro Vals, press chief of the Vatican. The lunch was also attended by Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom, and Laszlo Danko, archbishop of Kalocsa.

Meets With USSR's Yakovlev

*LD2103200389 Budapest MTI in English
1901 GMT 21 Mar 89*

[Text] Rome, March 21 (MTI)—State Minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, currently in Rome to attend the congress of the Italian Communist Party, met Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Committee of Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and secretary of the Central Committee.

The parties briefed each other about the internal position of their countries, particularly the resistance of conservative circles to reform. Mr Yakovlev pointed out that the Soviet leadership was interested in Hungary's seeking a solution to its problems and preserving internal stability.

Mr Pozsgay also held talks with representatives of Israeli left-wing parties (the Labour Party, United Workers' Party, Communist Party, Progressive List for Peace) on ways of providing direct contact between Hungarian and the Israeli peoples.

Discusses Strengthening EC Ties

*LD2303213289 Budapest MTI in English
1437 GMT 23 Mar 89*

[Text] Rome, March 23 (MTI)—Italian institutions and companies are anxious to join in the preparations and events of the Budapest-Vienna World Expo planned for the year 1995. This statement was made by Carlo Bernini, president of Veneto, a province in northern Italy, and member of the Christian Democratic Party. He was speaking during a dinner given in honour of State Minister Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Political Committee.

In the course of the friendly conversation, Signor Bernini, (who is also president of the Federation of West European Provinces), proposed the experimental and gradual application of the EEC's procedures and standards by the Alps-Adria Association. This would promote the gradual approach of (the borderline counties, provinces, and member republics of Austria, Yugoslavia and Hungary), countries outside the EEC, to the Community that seeks a unified internal market.

Similar topics were raised in the course of talks between Mr Pozsgay and Fabio Fabbri, Socialist Party senator, head of the Socialist group of the Senate. Signor Fabbri offered Italy's mediation in the reinforcement of Hungary's relations with the EEC.

Returns; Views Talks With Yakovlev

*LD2303200189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Mar 89*

[Text] Imre Pozsgay, member of the Politburo and minister of state, has just arrived back from Rome where he participated in the Italian Communist Party congress, met with the pope, and had talks in the Italian capital with Soviet party official Aleksandr Yakovlev. Jozsef Laszlo interviewed Imre Pozsgay at Budapest Ferihegy Airport.

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] Is there any link between the review of the Mindszenty trial and the visit [to Hungary] by the pope?

[Pozsgay] On behalf of both Hungarian public opinion and the government, I only confirmed that we look forward to his visit with joy and with respect. We have not proposed a date; rather, a question by Vatican radio suggested September 1991. Whatever the case, one thing is certain: The outlook for a visit is optimistic. Because the invitation was extended long before the government's decision to review the post-1945 [political] trials, it is clear that there is no link between the two things.

There is one link, however; I believe that I was the first on behalf of the Hungarian Government to be able to inform his eminence that the Hungarian Government had decided to reexamine the political trails of 1945-62, that it would communicate the results of this reexamination to the judiciary, and that if necessary, it would take these to the legislature. Naturally, following from the logic of the matter, in reviewing the trials the trials of church officials are also to be included, such as the Mindszenty trial and also the [name indistinct] trial. We have no legal grounds or any basis whatsoever for drawing any preliminary conclusions, but I believe I had to inform the pope about this. He received this information with pleasure.

[Laszlo] You not only met with the pope and representatives of the Italian Communist Party, but also with Yakovlev, who is one of the leaders of the CPSU. During this talk, the [issue of] conservatives was raised.

[Pozsgay] Yes, they were discussed. He himself described them as conservative forces while I spoke of sectarians and Stalinists. It is a fact of our joint observations and experience that it is difficult to break through the wall of incomprehension in such political movements which are—in their case 70 years old and in our case 40 years old—in power. Therefore, this struggle with these conservative forces—in the Soviet Union through perestroyka, and in Hungary through furthering political reform—contains undoubted risks, and our conversation about these risks was also open. [We spoke] openly about the fact that this regressive force is endangering progress—vis-a-vis political reform in our case and in respect to the so-called perestroyka in their case. [end recording]

Embassy in Kabul To Remain Closed Indefinitely

LD2303125989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Interview with Foreign Ministry spokesman Istvan Komoroczky by Gyorgy Nika; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Nika] The Afghan Government sent an appeal to a number of countries that had closed their embassies in Kabul because they feared that fighting would resume after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Hungary also suspended the operation of its diplomatic mission. How will we respond to this appeal? Will we reopen our mission?

[Komoroczky] It is true that we suspended the activitiy of our embassy, along with the Polish People's Republic. In other words, we were not the only socialist country to do this. As for the appeal, I can say that as long as the situation is such that we cannot guarantee the security and safety of Hungarian official staffers working in Kabul, and that of their family, then until then we do not want to send out our envoys. In our opinion, such a period is going to continue for the time being. As soon as the situation becomes calmer, we will naturally immediately reexamine our decision and reopen the Hungarian Embassy in Kabul.

[Nika] (?So, presumably) no one is representing Hungarian interests in Kabul.

[Komoroczky] Temporarily, no. Or rather, we asked a few embassies currently functioning there to represent Hungarian interests.

[Nika] As far as I know, the Hungarian ambassador is temporarily in New Delhi from Kabul. Where is he?

[Komoroczky] Mihaly Golub stayed in the Indian capital until 15 March, at which time we called him home for consultations. So he is presently here at home in Budapest.

Fishermen Begin First Strike in Fleet's History

LD2303213789 Warsaw PAP in English
2041 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Szczecin, March 23—A protest action started on Wednesday [22 March] overnight on many a Polish fishing vessel in the south Atlantic and the Bering Sea. The strikers gave up fishing but saw to it that their vessels were safe and apparatus aboard fully efficient.

The fishermen demand higher wages and increased hard-currency allowances for due recreation in ports of call. They also want their voyages shortened from 160 to 120 days. The postulates have been supported by the Federation of Trade Unions of Seamen and Deep-Sea Fishermen.

This is the first strike in the history of the Polish fleet.

Farmers March To Demand Free Market Prices

LD2303220889 Warsaw PAP in English
2119 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—Representatives of farmers' protest committees from all over Poland arrived at the seat of the National Farmers' Union here today to meet a commission for farmers' demands and postulates.

A communique issued after the meeting says that farmers demand guarantees for profitability of farming, this being achieved through a full introduction of market mechanisms to the national economy, the food sector included. Failing this, farmers expect a rise in official procurement prices to a level safeguarding a parity between their own incomes and those of employees of other sectors.

The participants in the meeting set March 30 as the deadline for talks on the postulates in question.

Forest Workers End Collective Wage Dispute

LD2303222189 Warsaw PAP in English
1758 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, march 23—The collective dispute initiated by the Federation of Trade Union Organizations of Employees of State Forests with the general manager of the state forests has ended, the press spokesman of the state forests announced.

The dispute concerned demands for higher pay for employees of state forests. During the talks the sides agreed that wage increases for this year would fall within the bracket of the average wage in the socialized economy while last year the average wage for forest workers was lower by 14.5 percent. In the first quarter of this year this gap increased significantly. In settling the dispute, the sides took account of the proposals and economic-financial capacities of the respective enterprises operating for the state forests authority "Lasy Panswowe."

PAP Cites Daily on 'Illegal' Gatherings in Gdansk

LD2003153289 Warsaw PAP in English
1456 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 20—"Gdansk residents are clearly fed up with attempts—made mainly on Sundays—to stage illegal demonstrations in the streets of the city," the PUWP daily TRYBUNA LUDU said today in a commentary on an attempted illegal gathering in Gdansk yesterday.

"Despite mighty efforts on the part of the supporters of rallies, leaflet actions and writing mottoes on the walls, there are but a few ones willing to take part in those gatherings. A few hundred people at the most would watch from a distance a chaotic convulsion by 'inflexible' youth to put off with a shrug of the shoulders their loud calls to come along.

"Sunday last, March 19, the animators of an illegal meeting were trying for three hours to gather a larger group. The attempt was however abortive. Shouts did not help.

"Who of the reasonable people would support with his participation those marching under the black and anarchic banners who are in fact street adventurers bombastically calling themselves a movement of alternative society.

"The noisy are against everything. In their leaflets they clearly declare aggressive goals, writing: 'An agreement does not lie in the interest of the people. It is in our interest to liquidate the communist state (...) because we are forbidden by censorship to present our views on the air and in Solidarity's underground publications, we are forced to voice them in the street. (We have) enough authorities. We are fighting till the victory.' The leaflet ends with the motto 'Down with the communist system'. We will probably meet next Sunday," said TRYBUNA LUDU.

The paper added that police forces were present but only escorted the group discreetly along the route.

Roundtable Team for Economy, Social Policy Meets

LD2403000689 Warsaw PAP in English
2322 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—The "roundtable" team for the economy and social policy held its 10th meeting here today with Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski co-chairing the debates.

At the beginning, the Solidarity-opposition side representative stated that his side withdrew from the protocol concerning the results of work of the sub-team for mining passed and signed yesterday. In this situation the information decisions reached which were published in yesterday's communique are not valid. It was only confirmed that groups of experts set up by the economic administration and trade unions should work out—taking into consideration the subteam accomplishments—drafts of systemic and organizational solutions for mining by September 30.

Next, the meeting continued editorial work. Initial agreement was reached on the majority of items of the joint document headlined "The Stance on Social and Economic Policy and Systemic Reforms". The final version of the document will be presented at the team's last meeting scheduled for March 30 when it is to be signed.

The draft "Stance" includes 7 chapters. It ends with a statement concerning the establishment of social and institutional conditions of agreements' implementation. It says that the effectiveness of moves designed to heal the economy will depend, above all, on the contents of the economic policy and on its winning public support.

The team decided that the issues on which the sides did not reach convergent stands would be presented during a meeting of the "roundtable" co-chairmen. They include, for instance, the period of validity of the law on special conditions of the national economy consolidation, decisions to liquidate enterprises and differences of stands on the principles and procedure of appointing managers and managerial staff of enterprises.

Economy Policy Team Reaches Preliminary Agreement

LD2403033289 Warsaw PAP in English
2355 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—The news I have is not bad, said Deputy Spokesman for the government Zbyslaw Rykowski at a news conference here today. The team for economy and social policy whose negotiations seemed to be the most difficult is about to end its work in view of a preliminary agreement upon a stand on social policy and reforms of the political system. Some elements of the jointly drafted document still have to be settled, Rykowski said.

The document contains proposals meant to improve market supply, living conditions, curb inflation, protect the people against the effects of inflation (indexation) and then to overcome the debt barrier and create social and institutional conditions for realization of agreements.

As far as this matter is concerned, the coalition-government side suggests that the roundtable participants take a stand on behalf of the sides they represent concerning out-of-court settlement of disputes and conflicts over the next two or three years.

It is also necessary to create a social-state commission for incomes and costs of living. We also expect a consultative commission to work in the period between the conclusion of the roundtable debate and the emergence of a new parliament, one of the commission's essential functions consisting in controlling and assessing the roundtable debate, socio-economic matters included. Then this function would be taken over by parliament, Rykowski said.

Trade Union Pluralism Team Discusses Final Draft

LD2303235489 Warsaw PAP in English
2315 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—The roundtable team for trade union pluralism convened for its eighth meeting here today, the discussion focusing on the preamble to the final document which will be a kind of a declaration of intentions by the sides represented in the team.

The finally adopted preamble reads in part: the team based its work on a joint conviction as to the necessity to remove obstacles hindering the freedom of creating trade unions of employees and farmers. This will constitute realization of ideas contained in the 1980 social accords, in the universal declaration of human rights, in the international human rights covenants and in conventions of the international labour organization.

Social strivings for legalization of Solidarity, expressed especially in protests which occurred in May and August 1988, on the one hand, and the political stand adopted by the 10th plenary session of the PUWP Central Committee on the other hand, created conditions for realization of trade union pluralism. Introduction of trade union pluralism will create conditions for national agreement, will put an end to the conflict around this problem, and it will also serve democratic transformations in this country's public life.

The team expects all currents of the trade union movement to display the will of mutual cooperation pursued in a way permitting to preserve their own identity but preventing escalation of demands and relations being shaped on a confrontational basis.

Social interest requires stabilization of social and economic life which in practice should be enhanced by trade union pluralism. This country's difficult economic situation creates the imperative to prevent conflicts and to strive for their being settled out of court so that strike may be the last resort.

Respect for employee and trade union rights on the one hand and for national interest on the other hand is today required by a situation where all of us can open up a new chapter in Poland's life, the preamble said.

Co-chairmen of the team for trade union pluralism told PAP:

Tadeusz Mazowiecki: Even though our team failed to settle everything and we are going to meet again, that which we do is important and so is the fact that we are linked by goodwill for a favourable settlement of the matter. I also think that we are uplifted by the knowledge that people wait for effects of our work. I also think of a man who has never stopped thinking about Solidarity and who believed in an agreement of Poles, John Paul II, that is. I would like the good news from Warsaw to reach him, too.

Romuald Sosnowski: I am still absolutely optimistic about the outcome of our work, although I fully understand the impatience of crews waiting for effects of our talks. I also think that thanks to those talks of ours we all learnt a lot and what matters now is to draw conclusions from this lesson when we go to worker crews with which we will have to talk and to come to agreement in our trade union work.

Aleksander Kwasniewski: There are still some matters to be sorted out and therefore we must meet once again after Easter. I am convinced, though, that we will succeed in settling our stands and this break is sure to help us achieve this goal.

Walesa Holds News Conference on Roundtable

LD2303211789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] [Announcer] Today Lech Walesa met with journalists at a news conference.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] To the question of whether the deadline for the end of the roundtable talks will be kept, Lech Walesa replied:

[Walesa] There are many problems, as I said. The roundtable material comes to around 120 pages. Though I do not take part in everything, I will nonetheless be fronting it all. I have said that all the material, accurately noting differences and (?support), must be supplied at least a week in advance so I can make consultations, think about it, and discuss it. I will finish this process in a week and only then will I sit at the table and state my view point, our view point, on these matters. I will not do this earlier—it is too risky. In this country many institutions, many (?steps), were very severely damaged. And this initiative that we have undertaken, associated with the roundtable, cannot be destroyed. Of course, we will not attain any great victories, but nor can we destroy enthusiasm or social hopes. Even if the process takes a day or two longer, we will be understood because we must do this well, by measuring up to the compromise that is possible; we must do our best.

And that is why it still may slip back, because the talks are continuing. They were to have been completed by the 20 March. As you see they are continuing. And gathering the material and the writing is awfully difficult. So, despite our great efforts to stick to the deadline, we are late.

[Correspondent] Walesa answered a question as to whether he stands by his decision not to be a candidate in the Sejm elections.

[Walesa] That is so. I maintain it as I am not prepared on political subjects. I have neither the expertise nor do I particularly see myself as a political activist. Simultaneously, I have an awful lot of union duties. I would have to ask my electors and those who voted for me whether or not they would allow this. That first. Second, I feel that in Poland there are so many excellent people, and they should be the first called on in this difficult time to help rule or represent Poland.

[Correspondent] Finally, Lech Walesa was asked whether he will be a candidate for the Solidarity leadership.

[Walesa] I will be asking for a 4-year furlough, at least. I am continuing with the remnants of my strength. I need rest. I have many burdens—the old ones and these new ones—and I simply wish for new people to lead this union. That said, I do not know how the members of the union will behave. I do not know what will be necessary. On the other hand, I am not kidding; this is not connivance. I really don't want to; I'd like to pause for 4 years. I must rest; I must spend more time at home—my children have grown up quickly. I must take control of all this and at the same time take a mental rest. This has been an awful struggle. Many people took vacations; many people took a break. On the other hand, I didn't pause for a second—all the time at attention.

This has cost me an awful lot and that is why I want to rest. But, there is a definite but—if the candidates were people who I regard as, who we regard as having done bad in the union, then I will fight strongly, like a lion. I will not give this union to anyone who would want to destroy it. There are such people who, I feel, would destroy the union. Then I will do everything possible to be a candidate, so as not to give up the union to irresponsible people.

[Correspondent] And here is what Lech Walesa said at the end of the news conference, especially for Polish radio listeners.

[Walesa] To all those who listen to Lech Walesa, I send best wishes. I hope that this holiday will awaken reflection and that after the holidays everyone will join in starting to run the roundtable. I want the roundtable to really be a great accord of Poles, and over the holiday there will be more time to think about all this. [end recording]

PAP Reports Walesa News Conference

LD2303212389 Warsaw PAP in English 2001 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Gdansk, March 23—"Everyone is afraid of the new and there are opponents of the reforms on both sides: on ours because not all would be capable of changing to legal action, requiring work and acting through different methods; on the government side because many people are afraid that society will now look keenly at what they are doing while they have grown accustomed to various arrangements," stated Lech Walesa during a press conference held at St. Brigida's Church in Gdansk today.

As has been the case in the past two months, the conference was dominated by "roundtable" issues. Lech Walesa presented himself as an optimist as regards matters not fully agreed. He stated in part: Pluralism will be the most important matter, in other words, how society organizes itself. We are accomplishing today's compromise by coming out of underground. This is a great compromise, one corresponding to our possibilities, our preparation. When people will be organized, there will be peaceful work, then they will fix what we messed up. We are only creating possibilities for getting organized, this is enough as 'a start up,'" Walesa said.

Replying to several questions concerning social moods and possible threats to the reform, Walesa stressed that the "roundtable" was at present "the cheapest" way of introducing changes. Polish society is not prone to anarchy. Poles today are capable of coming to terms, are capable of understanding the difficulties and troubles, only they must be treated seriously, spoken to seriously, presented with serious problems. If this is done, they will be ready also for sacrifice in which they will see some sense and chances of overcoming the difficulties.

Asked about the elections to the Sejm and senate, Walesa confirmed that he did not intend to run because he did not feel appropriately prepared both professionally and politically for the post of deputy or senator. He nonetheless conditioned this on the will of the voters. Also "Solidarity," as a trade union, and not a political party, does intend to get engaged in an organizational way in the elections. "If we get involved in political affairs too deeply then the following question could be put to us: What right do you have to do so? We can operate as citizens and back the better ones against the worse ones and there are many well prepared people whom we can forward," Walesa said.

Solidarity Spokesman Views Senate, Presidency

LD2403034189 Warsaw PAP in English 0108 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—There are still a number of essential and important discrepancies concerning future senate and presidential offices, Marcin Krol told newsmen today listing the president's planned right to dissolve the Sejm and senate and to pass decrees valid as laws in the periods between Sejm sessions among them.

The opposition-"Solidarity" side still advocates two-tier elections to the senate similar to the Sejm elections. We also suggest, added Marcin Krol, that the Sejm should be able to appoint chairman of the chief board of supervision and ombundsman only after having consulted canditatures to the posts with the senate.

Krol stated also that a future president should have strong executive powers but no legislative ones.

Jaruzelski Addresses People's Council Chairmen

AU2303121489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 89 pp 1,2

[Report on speech by State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski at a meeting of chairmen of voivodship people's councils in Warsaw on 20 March]

[Text] The State Council chairman approved the main current of the talks and the conclusions expressed therein. He said that the "roundtable" is the logical outcome of the process of reforms initiated by the Ninth Polish United Workers Party Congress. The many reforms so far, which have brought about new democratic state institutions, consolidated the rule of law and civic liberties, and made sociopolitical life more open, have paved the way to a compromise between the chief social forces, said W. Jaruzelski. A broad national accord, coupled with an awareness of the need for further democratization and an acceleration of the economic reforms, should lead to a concentration of the chief social forces on the most important tasks of the nation. Wojciech Jaruzelski underlined the importance of an accord at regional level as well, for that is where the results of the "roundtable" are going to be implemented. The people's councils are faced with the chief tasks in this sphere, and the way to perform them is to make the exercising of authority more public and implement the reforms contained in the People's Councils and Territorial Self-Government Act and Communal Property Act, alongside the implementation of the economic reforms themselves.

W. Jaruzelski dwelt at length on the tasks of the people's councils in the forthcoming elections to the Sejm and senate. He affirmed the state authorities' determination to preserve the tenure of the people's councils that were elected last year. That is the only way to implement people's council programs smoothly and see to it that people's councillors are accountable to the electorate. He asked all chairmen of people's councils for dedication and commitment in creating a broad coalition centered on the implementation of the social and economic reforms. He asked them to seeks ways of cooperating with everyone who wishes to work for the fatherland.

Jaruzelski Holds Talks With First Secretaries

LD2203215489 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski met today with a numerous group of first secretaries of PUWP town, district and communal committees from all over the country.

The discussion focused on questions of party work stemming from the resolutions of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum and the short-term tasks of PUWP organizations and members.

Defense Minister Siwicki Ends Syria Visit

LD2303225189 Warsaw PAP in English 2145 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Damascus, March 23—Member of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau, Poland's Minister of National Defence General Florian Siwicki, ending his friendly official visit to Syria, was received here today by president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces Hafiz al-Asad.

The talk focused on bilateral relations, and especially on cooperation between the two befriended countries.

The two politicians spoke about the need and purposefulness of developing this cooperation and exchanged views on a number of international issues with a particular stress on the situation in the Middle East.

General Siwicki conveyed to President al-Asad greetings from President of Poland's Council of State, PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

A several-hour-long visit to Camp Faouar [name as received] where the Polish military contingent is stationed was a significant event during the visit to Syria by the Polish national defence minister and the Polish Army delegation. The first group of Polish soldiers started the U.N. peace-keeping mission there nearly 15 years ago.

The official visit of General Florian Siwicki ended in a farewell ceremony at the local airport attended by Syrian Minister of Defence General Mustafa Talas and other members of the leadership of the Syrian Armed Forces.

The Polish minister of national defence returned to Poland this afternoon.

Urban Discusses Roundtable, Jamming at News Brief

LD2203022689 Warsaw PAP in English 1942 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—The major topics touched upon during the press conference held by government Spokesman Jerzy Urban today included "roundtable" issues, the appeal to "Solidarity" to stop jamming Polish radio and TV programs, Poland's stance on Palestinian isues, the planned visit of the government press spokesman to the U.S., the state of negotiations between Poland and the GDR on the delineation of the Pomeranian Bay, the strike situation, censorshop in Poland, the issue whether there will be a PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] session and the planned release of Waldemar Chmielewski.

"Roundtable" Issues

At the outset of the conference the press spokesman stated in part:

It is likely that along with the calendar spring Poland is entering a political spring. Tomorrow, Wednesday March 22, could turn out to be the decisive day at the roundtable or perhaps the ensuing days will be decisive. It will turn out whether it is possible to reach a basic agreement preceding the early elections or not. If Wednesday or Thursday conclude positively, the "roundtable" will enter the final phase of a written elaboration of the results. I hope that it will be possible to precede the early, upcoming elections to the Sejm and senate with agreement which about 90 percent of society desires and expects, the spokesman said.

Despite earlier expectations, the roundtable debates have covered many concrete and detailed maters, including reforms and changes initiated earlier on by the PUWP, other parties, the government, the OPZZ as well as those proposed in rich and critical press discussions. The new partners in the dialogue have contributed their point of view and initiated modifications.

Doors have been opened in various directions leading to a comprehensive review and agreement as to how to improve relations in Poland, including changes of tens or even hundreds of legal regulations. There are a lot of differences of opinion as to the way of carrying out the rehauling in various fields. There is nonetheless no small measure of concordance. This has compelled the coalition and the state authorities to embark on intensive planning work, on an intensified and accelerated forwarding of proposals of new solutions which would facilitate a break with thinking habits and the way problems are treated, Urban continued.

We are not surprised that our partners frequently had no concrete or cohesive plan of transformations and only presented a certain philosophy of changes, expressed wishes or presented unrealistic or premature projects. Everything which we discussed and were at odds at resulted in at least additional impetus for a search for solutions and rendering the numerous problems of the country a common cause, the government spokesman continued.

It was a characteristic feature of the debates that the coalition-government side presented a diverse stance, was pluralistic and the OPZZ almost always took a different stance. On the other hand the opposition-Solidarity side, which particularly accentuated the ideal of pluralism, in practice was not pluralistic but monolithic.

One could have exected that the talks in the political and trade union teams would be the toughest while those in the socio-economic team would not be so difficult.

It turned out however that during the past weeks the economic talks were the toughest and presumably the most polemic ones because they covered concrete isues from the field of current economic policy. This happened under the pressure of social expectations which first and foremost are associated with ways of improving the economic situation.

Despite this I think that the economic field should be an area protected against sharp clashes and not only in workplaces but also on the macroscale as well, Urban said.

Economic policy calls for constant discussion and disputes but also should not leave the impression that nothing will come of the reforms. Disputes also cannot paralyze action and talks about the economy cannot hamper deeds and replace them. I am afraid that in the future, in pluralistic relations, differences of opinion may cause obstacles to action, block the decisions of parliament and the government pursuing the program of reforms. This would have been a catastrophe for the country, the spokesman pointed out.

Appeal To Stop Jamming Radio Broadcasts

Next, Jerzy Urban said among other things: I publicly appeal to Solidarity activists taking part in the roundtable talks to make the underground cells subordinate to them immediately stop jamming the Polish radio and TV broadcasts.

For over a year now we have not been jamming the Polish language programs of Western radio stations. Since the inauguration of the roundtable debate Polish radio and television have been presenting extensively the views of the opposition-Solidarity side and everyday give activists representing this side access to their cameras and microphones. The sub-team for mass media discusses ways of stabilizing and expanding the access of the opposition and the newly formed associations to radio and TV broadcasts. Beautiful words about freedom of speech and new information order are being uttered by the opposition-Solidarity side.

At the same time, however, illegally operating transmitters of radio Solidarity are jamming here and there the local programs, broadcasting its own programs on the wavelengths used by Polish radio and television. These local acts of air piracy are of no great significance. What is important though is the principle. The jamming of Polish radio and TV broadcasts means that the opposition says one thing and does the other.

The opposition circles urged us in the past not to jam foreign radio stations, citing international agreements, including those stemming from the CSCE acts. But they themselves even now resort to jamming. They are jamming the broadcasts of the radio and television whose equipment they want to use and are using.

Poland's Stance on Palestinian Issue

In reply to a question concerning this problem Urban stated:

There is no turn nor are there any new elements in our stand on the Middle East issue.

Our approach to the Palestinian question is evidenced by the status of the PLO mission in Poland. The PLO representative has for a long time been accredited in Poland in the rank of ambassador at the president of the Council of State. Thus, these are diplomatic relations. We have no diplomatic relations with Israel, we only have representations in the form of interest sections. In light of this, one cannot speak of parity, the spokesman stated.

Planned Visit to U.S.

Asked whether he would visit the U.S., Urban replied in the affirmative, adding that he was invited by Ambassador Jan Kinast. The goal of the visit is to meet with representatives of the American press and various institutions, he explained.

Asked whether Poland was expecting new credits in the wake of a possible signing of an agreement at the "roundtable," the spokesman replied that he did not envisage such credits because credible sources in the U.S. indicated reserve in this respect.

Negotiations Between Poland and GDR

Asked about the state of negotiations between Poland and the GDR on the delineation of the Pomeranian Bay, Urban stated in part:

These negotiations are nearing an end. I do not know whether positive or not. This will be clarified in the nearest future.

One of the questions concerned possible plans by Poland to build another fairway outside the 12-mile zone which the GDR set out. Urban replied that it was hard to deny that such a thing was being planned by some Polish institutions. No such plans exist on the government level, he elaborated.

Asked whether the negotiations concerned Poland's unlimited access to three anchor grounds or the sovereignty of the bay, Urban replied that the latter was at issue.

Strike Situation

Asked about the strike situation in Poland, Urban replied that there were no strikes in mines. The wave of strikes is falling. Protests in the countryside stemming from the unprofitability of farming production, are a new phenomenon, he added.

Censorship in Poland

Asked why censorship has not been lifted in Poland, Urban replied that it would fulfil its role in the transitional period as regards, for example the maintenance of the Polish reason of state.

PUWP CC Session

Asked whether there would be a PUWP CC session, Urban replied "yes." It will take place at the turn of this March. Perhaps the Political Bureau will make a decision on the matter today.

On Planned Release of Waldemar Chmielewski

One of the last questions was: Will one of the murderers of Father Popieluszko be released? Urban replied in the affirmative, adding that Waldemar Chmielewski was due for release in the last ten days of April.

Other Issues

Asked about the most difficult points of the "roundtable" debate, Urban replied that economic problems were the toughest, particularly the issue of wage indexation, powers for the future president and details of the new electoral law.

The idea of a president's office was put forward as a complementary factor in the make-up of the authorities in the state. The stabilization of the state calls for an institution which would ensure a factor of continuity. It will neither replace the Sejm nor be a form of Bonapartism, Urban said.

Taking the floor, press spokesman of the democratic party [DP] Adam Wysocki recalled the idea of the president's office submitted by the DP 31 years ago.

In reply to another question Urban stated that there were no negative reactions from Iran to the visit of the Polish premier to Iraq. We want equally good relations with Iran and Iraq, he said.

Asked about the ecologic movement in Poland, Urban replied that there was room for the ecologic movement in the upcoming elections to the Sejm.

Asked whether there would be a return to the name of "the Republic of Poland," Urban replied: Who could be offended by the word "people's"?

In reply to a question about a Polish atlas in which the border in the Pomeranian Bay was charted out in the same way as the GDR mapped it out later on, Urban stated that the atlas shows the border on the shelf. The line was not marked correctly, the spokesman said.

Urban Holds 23 March News Conference in Geneva

*LD2403033789 Warsaw PAP in English
0026 GMT 24 Mar 89*

[By PAP correspondent Edward Dylawerski]

[Text] Geneva, March 23—Addressing a news conference at Poland's permanent mission to the U.N. office here, government Spokesman Jerzy Urban started with an assessment of the current state of the process of transformations taking place in Poland. He also referred to the roundtable talks and said that April 3 is likely to see the signing of a social accord which will bring about political, economic and social order for a time of transition from the current system of government to a new socialism of the future.

The roundtable talks were preceded by the building of economic foundations at the initiative of the authorities. The package of those changes constitutes a revolution in the economic sphere, Urban said. Breakthrough changes will likewise take place in the political sphere, among other things in the manner of electing authorities and wielding power (changes in the electoral law, establishment of the senate and the office of president). During the roundtable talks the authorities proposed sweeping changes in the legal system, in the functioning of society and government.

Urban also pointed out that the ongoing transformations are of interest to just a part of the Polish public opinion, for a major part of society confines attention to living conditions. Inflation, empty shops, economically-motivated strikes may lessen the significance of that political agreement. Poland has long been living through economic hardships. It seeks to intensify relations with the West so as to overcome economic difficulties. But this requires political impulses which do not exist for the West has adopted a wait-and-see attitude. A prolonged wait or making credits or debt re-scheduling conditional on curbing inflation may result in normalization of economic relations coming too late. Earlier social dissatisfaction will plunge the Polish political experiment.

Urban expressed a view that Western observers saw the alignment of forces in Poland still through the prism of 1981 when the government camp was on one side and "Solidarity" on the other one. Now, in 1989, a different dynamic alignment of forces is emerging, a new process of rapprochement and new antagonisms. The opposition is divided. Differences are growing in the ruling political camp. Jerzy Urban said that the long process that started in Poland might have a positive or negative influence on the situation in neighbouring socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, as the failure of transformations in Poland would strengthen opponents of perestroyka and glasnost.

Next, Jerzy Urban answered newsmens' questions. Many of them concerned detailed information on changes in Poland.

While answering one of these questions, Urban said that the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] as any other party, did not think of giving up power but rather of self-limiting it, but winning, in turn, greater support and consolidating its position. Giving up power does not require any consideration. It is very easy. The party to which I do not belong as a matter of fact has become the force which initiated the changes. It wants to improve its position in society just as a party which is the initiator of the changes and which plans them as the party of the future.

Asked why he visited Switzerland Urban said that the only and sufficient reason of his one-day visit was the desire to meet those who attended the conference. The pleasure is greater as I have never been in Switzerland before. Next I am going to the U.S., added he.

Draft Laws Submitted to the Sejm Published

LD2103230189 Warsaw PAP in English
2103 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—Following are draft laws tabled to the Sejm:

Draft Law on Change of Poland's Constitution

The new constitutional regulation of the status and competence of the supreme bodies of the state authorities is the content of a draft law on a change of Poland's Constitution. Two new supreme bodies of state authority are planned to be set up: the senate and president of Poland.

A fixed number of senators will be elected from each voivodship to the senate in general elections. The senate is to have a right to review laws adopted by the Sejm and to submit (within a month) proposals of rejecting the law or amending or complementing it.

The senate is to review the draft state budget and the national socio-economic plan and present its stance to the Sejm. It is also to appoint the ombudsman. The debates of the senate will be open and their work presided over by the speaker of the senate.

The president will be elected by members of the Sejm and senate at a joint session chaired by the Sejm speaker.

Under the bill the president would be elected to a six-year term (for no more than two terms). He would take over the powers of the Council of State, chair the Committee of National Defence and supervise the Armed forces. He would bear impact on the composition of the government (motioning to the Sejm to appoint the chairman of the Council of Ministers and its members) and on the course of the government's work (by convening meetings on especially important matters and presiding over them). There is a proposal to set up a presidential council to the president appointed by the Sejm at the motion of the president.

The draft equips the president with the right to dissolve parliament in an emergency situation: if the Sejm does not fulfil its constitutional obligations and in particular does not appoint the government.

The draft envisages that the present term of the Sejm will expire June 3 this year.

Draft Sejm Election Law

The draft new electoral law to the Sejm draws special attention to expanding the influence of citizens and their organizations of the list of candidates and ensuring real possibilities of choosing from among candidates of equal chances for election.

There will be no preferences for candidates placed at the beginning of electoral lists. The arrangement of names will be alphabetical. The person casting the ballot will have to cross out those candidates from the local electoral list whom he is not voting for. The number of deputies elected from the national list cannot exceed 10 percent of the overall number of deputies.

The draft envisages absolutely new solutions in the field of selecting candidates for deputies. Mandates would be distributed within the frame of respective electoral districts, for candidates belonging to the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the Pax Association, the Christian-Social Union and the Polish Social-Catholic Union and non-aligned. Groups of citizens (at least 3 thousand voters from a given electoral district) also receive a right to forward candidates. An unlimited number of candidates will be able to compete for every mandate.

In order to be elected a deputy, one has to win an absolute majority of votes. If none of the candidates running for a given mandate in an electoral district receives such, a second round of voting to this mandate will be held with two candidates who won the greatest number of votes running. If it is impossible to determine such a classification, all those who received an equal number of votes will run once again for the seat. A simple majority of votes will be in force in the second round (two weeks after the first election).

Draft Law on Elections to the Senate

The draft law on elections to the Senate is regulated only by those institutions and procedures of the electoral law which are specified for the election of senators. In the remaining instances regulations of the Law on Elections to the Sejm will be applied.

There is a proposal to elect 100 senators from 49 voivodships (three from the Warsaw and Katowice voivodships and two from the remaining ones) and 10 senators from the national list. The overall number of senators would therefore total 110.

The right to put forward candidates for senators elected from the local electoral lists (voivodships will be electoral districts in elections to the Senate) is to be granted only to the voters (no less than 5 thousand people). All candidates forwarded in the right way will be placed on the electoral list in alphabetical order, without the list being divided into mandates. A simple majority of votes is to determine the election of a senator. A second round of elections is envisaged only in cases where an equal number of votes was cast on several candidates, making it impossible to determine the two or three first places.

Draft Law on Associations

A draft law on associations contains regulations of systemic importance. It regulates the principles of exercising the right to form associations, guaranteed under the Constitution.

The draft adopts the freedom of association as a fundamental principle and the limits of this freedom are defined by regulations of the Constitution and the binding legislation.

Associations are to be legalized through their registration by courts. It will also be the duty of common courts to take legal action against associations that violate law or their statutes. Organs of the state administration will be entitled to exercise supervision.

In tune with the draft, 15 founders will be able to put forth an initiative to set up an association.

Meeting half-way postulates of student milieux, there is a proposal to amend the 1982 Law on Higher Schools. In tune with the proposal, regulations of the Law on Associations would be applied towards student organizations and associations, only that the minister of national education and rectors of higher schools would be the organs supervising their activity.

The draft law on associations does not solve the problem of political parties. It envisages also the exclusion of churches and other denominational unions.

Drzft To Amend the Trade Union Law

The essence of changes proposed by the draft amending the trade union law boils down to the three basic questions: firstly, the abolition of limits to setting up and work of trade unions, including the operation of more than one trade union organization in a factory; secondly, the permitting of the formation of trade unions set up according to other than the hitherto principles, in tune with territorial structures; thirdly, legal solutions concerning joint work by trade unions in a factory vis-a-vis its manager.

Other changes proposed by the draft are the consequence of the adopted solutions as regards the introduction of trade union pluralism.

Draft Law on the Unions of Private Farmers

The draft law on the unions of private farmers says that private farmers running a farm and their relatives working together with them on the farm have the right to set up and to get affiliated in the unions of private farmers to protect their rights and professional interests.

The draft says that the unions of private farmers are self-governed, independent and are not subject to the supervision or control of organs of the state and self-government administration.

New Ministers Appointed by Sejm Profiled

LD2303135989 Warsaw PAP in English
1210 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—Michal Czarski

Czarski, whom Polish parliament today appointed minister of labour and social policy, was born in 1949. He graduated from the Academy of Economics in Katowice. Worked as head of the Employment and Social Affairs Department at the governor's office in Katowice and voivode's plenipotentiary for computer science there. PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] member.

Jozef Oleksy

Oleksy, appointed by Polish parliament today minister-member of the Council of Ministers responsible for cooperation with trade unions, was born in 1946. He graduated from the Foreign Trade Department at the main school of planning and statistics SGPIS in Warsaw. Doctor of economics. First secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Biala Podlaska.

Democratic Party Head on Party, State Reform

PM2303101289 Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish
3 Mar 89 pp 14, 18

[Interview with Democratic Party [SD] Chairman Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak by PERSPEKTYWY correspondent Ryszard Swierkowski; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Democratic Party is one of the three political parties in contemporary Poland. It has been present on the political scene for half a century. The pages of its history are filled with names of such eminent activists as M. Michalowicz, M. Kwasniewski, W. Rzymowski, L. Chwistek, W. Barcikowski, W. Lechowicz, or S. Kulczynski. In addition to being constantly updated in the ongoing process of changes, the SD program will soon be reshaped to meet the current needs and conditions of the process of renewing socialism. We talked to SD chairman Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak about the debate on the party's new face initiated during the meetings of the 16th SD Central Committee Plenum preceding the 14th SD Congress.

[Swierkowski] Mr Chairman, what are your expectations of the current debate within the Democratic Party?

[Mlynczak] I await answers to a great number of fundamental questions and doubts currently assailing many people—not only our party members. First, what should the Polish model of democracy look like at the turning point between the 20th and 21st century? I am using the word "turning point" also metaphorically here, in a sense whose historic significance is perhaps not fully realized by all of us. As a political party, we nurture an ambition not only to keep pace with democratic changes in Poland but also to take an active part in their realization. And in many areas which we consider particularly important we actually want to stay ahead of these changes to a certain extent.

These are the origins of the whole portfolio of our proposals concerning changes and initiatives designed to affect the state and the system. We set them out in the documents of the 16th SD Central Committee Plenum and also in the theses prepared for the precongress debate. What is our main cause of concern? The need to finally draw correct conclusions from the past—both the distant past of 50 years ago, when our party was being formed against the background of an extremely tense international and domestic situation, and the most recent past, the consequences of which we still have to suffer today. What can we do to help Poland become a normal European country? To ensure that the next political crisis does not develop into a crisis of state proportions, threatening dangerous consequences for the whole nation?

How can we introduce enduring elements of political ethics, tolerance, or confidence into our unsettled life? How can we instill the principles of sound and honest partnership between the employer and the employee, the authorities and the citizen, the revenue office and the taxpayer, the store assistant and the customer, the doctor and the patient? We could ask many more similar questions.

[Swierkowski] The question of the coalition principle is one of today's key political problems. In your opinion, what changes should be made in the formula and the practice of our present tripartite alliance?

[Mlynczak] I spoke of the need to democratize and modernize our coalition at the recent ZSL [United Peasant Party] Congress. I made several recommendations there and I was glad to receive support from our political partners. Our goal is certainly not to weaken the PZPR [Polish Workers Party]-ZSL-SD alliance. On the contrary, we want to fashion our mutual relationship along new lines to ensure that it can meet the real needs, aspirations, and challenges of the present day. I am delighted to see the insistence on similar objectives in the documents of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

In our interpretation, democratization of the coalition means full equality for all partners. Naturally this should be combined with corresponding justly apportioned joint responsibility for all political decisions which must, in turn, be made according to the principles of sound and honest partnership. Consequently, a crucial role must be accorded to cooperation and collaboration between our political representations in the Sejm and other democratically elected representative bodies, since it is in such forums that the allied parties can implement their joint decisions previously reached by consensus. In the Sejm, as well as in the new territorial parliaments into which existing people's councils will be transformed, each party should control, influence, and politically monitor the functioning of the executive apparatus, that is, the government, voivodship authorities, and the whole administrative apparatus—in particular its economic echelons in the Sejm forum and within the territorial parliaments which will be created from the present people's councils, especially those at voivodship level.

We are, and we will remain, resolutely opposed to so-called manual control. We need more openness and candor, more respect for others' views, and more consideration for the opinions and aspirations of those whom we describe (sometimes too rashly and unfairly) as the inimical, or hostile, side—both within the coalition and in our relations with other political forces, including those which still constitute the extraparliamentary opposition. We believe that it is a poor partner or friend who, for the sake of superficially interpreted solidarity or unity, turns a blind eye to his ally's errors, fails to warn him against them, and only criticizes him after the damage has been done. It is high time to implement the often-invoked demand for the government to remain a government and the party to remain a party. Our parties ought to concern themselves with politics, not administration. If they take up the latter, no one benefits from it: neither the parties, nor the state, nor the economy.

[Swierkowski] According to my information your party intends to propose the introduction of a parliamentary act on political parties. Are you interested in the possibility of forming new parties or the legal and political clarification of the situation of the existing ones?

[Mlynczak] A great number of doubts and uncertainties have accumulated over the years around this problem. They will all have to be removed, and an act on political parties is the right way to do it. It could regulate the question of their legal status (today they still cannot claim it in full), the mechanism of financing their activity, and the ways in which they can direct the state. In the case of the SD, we believe that this should be done via the agency of representative bodies. Of course preparatory work on the new primary act would also highlight the problem of new political parties. But let me add a few more reflections on the present tripartite coalition.

For more than a year now the SD has repeatedly and consistently recommended that the constitutional guarantee of the state system be provided by the whole coalition, not just one party. We believe that the necessary parliamentary majority could be secured by the PZPR, the SD, and the ZSL holding, say, 60 percent of parliamentary deputies' seats between them. This would provide a more advantageous platform for those political circles which either remain outside our coalition for a variety of reasons or operate outside the parliament.

Thus as democrats we subscribe to the view that our Polish political landscape should be as varied and diversified as the reality that surrounds us. That it should include all those forces that comply with the law and the constitution (which in any case we intend to change), regardless of their political or ideological beliefs.

[Swierkowski] People talk of the need to change the electoral law pertaining to Sejm and people's councils elections. As far as I know the SD intends to introduce extensive democratization here, which among other things would include the principle of competition for deputies' seats.

[Mlynczak] Things are not so simple here. In the first place let me remind you that I myself have stressed publicly several times—for instance, last September—that the next elections could be preceded by by some form of accord, or agreement, between the most important political forces in the country, including the opposition. We in the SD say that if electoral seats are to be allocated, it can only be on different, more democratic principles than at present. This would mean no political rivalry in a certain number of electoral wards. Which? Those where the abovementioned agreement would be in force.

Naturally there would also be a number of electoral wards (most probably those commanding a single seat) in which the electoral seat would be the object of not only personal but also political rivalry, that is, the kind of rivalry you were asking about.

We would thus have a mixed formula, which is the blueprint recommended by our party. We consider this an indispensable prerequisite in politics today if we are achieve full parliamentary democracy tomorrow. Our adherence to the belief in evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, methods of transforming socioeconomic relations demands that we subscribe to that blueprint. It is also the logical consequence of our party's liberal and democratic heritage. I will not conceal the fact that it is our ambition to see the Democratic Party establish certain new factors and customs also in its own forum, as would be entirely consistent with its name and tradition. Hence the proposal which I submitted at the 16th SD Central Committee plenum that the competition for the position of SD Central Committee chairman be initiated even before the SD congress, with the candidates nominated by an electoral convention comprising previously democratically elected heads of voivodship party echelons. Before the start of the congress proceedings each candidate for the position of Central Committee chairman would be required to present an alternative program for the realization of the tasks mapped out for our party in his subsequent term of office.

[Swierkowski] How was your proposal received? And, Mr Chairman, would you not fear a rival with the advantage of such favorable terms of competition?

[Mlynczak] I must tell you frankly that the proposal was received with interest and approval, but also with reservations, which is understandable since it has no precedent in our political practice.

[Swierkowski] Let us return to the Sejm question.

[Mlynczak] Our party wants to see a really strong Sejm—strong thanks to its democratic mode of operation and, most importantly, thanks to its widespread public acceptance. And the latter cannot be won without a profoundly democratic electoral law.

[Swierkowski] Does this not necessitate a thorough revision of the existing Constitution or perhaps even the introduction of a new one?

[Mlynczak] Probably the latter, though we are unlikely to get away without amending the present Constitution before we prepare and bring in a new one. The debate on the draft projects of a new constitution has only just started. A great many ideas and proposals are being suggested and they must all be collected and sorted out—especially some far-reaching projects submitted both by our experts and by party activists—so that we can present them to the Congress in a well-defined package. The constitution must clearly define the functioning principles of and the division of powers among executive, legislative, and juridical bodies, on the principle of so-called tripartite division of power. In my opinion it is necessary to ensure a system of "reciprocal controls" among legislative, executive, and juridical authorities as well as to render them independent from what we call the party political apparatus. Moreover, we need to abandon once and for all the practice of propping up state bodies with resolutions issued by political parties. This would reinforce observance of the law and guarantee the inviolability of civil liberties accorded to the individual—all this in accordance with the interests of state and society.

[Swierkowski] One of the precongress discussion theses speaks of a need to develop a party economic doctrine. Until now the SD was perceived by the public rather as a party dealing with only one area of economic matters...

[Mlynczak] You are thinking of the handicraft and small manufacturing industry. It is true that the party has always had a special affinity for these two sectors, as it still does today. But it is not true (and it is a simplification to claim so) that the SD is only a "craftsmen's party." We have always been interested in all matters of consequence for state and society. It is enough to look at our documents or resolutions to realize that we invariably speak out and take a stand on all problems that our life generates. We presented an outline of the party economic doctrine at the recent 16th SD Central Committee Plenum and also in the precongress theses. To put it very briefly, we are in favor of socialism which is first, democratic; second, efficient; and third, progressive. This is of course linked to the democratization of economic life, equality among different sectors, and the emancipation of initiative and enterprise. In line with our tradition, we are in favor of political and trade union pluralism.

Government-Church Commission Discusses Relations

LD2203220489 Warsaw PAP in English
2036 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The state of relations between the State and the Catholic Church in Poland against the background of the general situation in the country was today discussed by the Joint Government-Episcopate commission.

It was agreed that the policy of reforms, and especially its current stage of the roundtable debate, has made national agreement feasible. Important political, social and economic issues should be solved in the spirit of this agreement.

The joint commission discussed the draft law on relations between the state and church in Poland, submitted by its editorial team. The draft was already approved by the 23rd plenary conference of Poland's Episcopate.

The joint commission accepted the wording of the draft, making a few editorial improvements, and authorized the co-chairmen of the editorial team to initial the draft and submit it to the Sejm under a regular procedure of legislative initiative.

The Commission stated that the process of normalizing the status of the Catholic Church in Poland and the process of normalizing the diplomatic relations between people's Poland and the Holy See are entering the final stage, to the satisfaction of the Polish Government and the Episcopate. The Commission thanked all the experts and members of the editorial team for their work.

Barcikowski, Michalek Attend Agricultural Debate

LD2103230689 Warsaw PAP in English
2210 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—On the second day of their conference today chairmen of voivodship people's councils discussed their councils' tasks in developing agriculture and the food industry. The meeting, chaired by vice-president of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski, was attended by members of the council of state, cabinet members, and Political Bureau member and PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

While presenting on behalf of his government the most important plans concerning agriculture, Vice-Premier and Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and the Food Economy Kazimierz Olesiak spoke about his government work aimed at introducing market mechanisms into the food industry. By introducing free procurement prices for agricultural produce, free prices for production means and gradual elimination of subsidies in order to make retail prices for food match production costs it will be possible to effectively solve tense economic problems in the food industry, he said.

A concept is also being prepared to regionalize the agricultural policy in order to boost production in areas where farming is underdeveloped at the moment.

During the discussion support was voiced for government plans to introduce market mechanisms into the food industry. The debaters also pointed to the need to regionalize the agricultural policy as soon as possible.

Seoul, Warsaw To Promote Industrial Cooperation

LD2303114489 Warsaw PAP in English
1738 GMT 22 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The director of Warsaw UNIDO [UN Industrial Development Organization] office announced that Warsaw and Seoul offices of United Nations Industrial Development Organization UNIDO are to arrange this April an exchange of delegates who are to promote industrial cooperation of Poland and the Republic of Korea.

Both sides are to exchange information on possibilities of establishing cooperation in economy and technology and to inform each other on economic, financial and legal conditioning of the operation of enterprises. They will also search for potential partners interested in various forms of cooperation such as joint ventures, co-production agreements and compensation deals.

The delegates' scope of activity will embrace assistance in finding creditors for the planned investments and in organizing visits of businessmen.

South Korea's delegate is expected to arrive in Poland at the beginning of May.

Foreign Debts To Be Eliminated in 18 Months

AU2303095089 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 23 Mar 89 p 11

["jus" report: "The Romanians Have To Pay Dearly for Economic Independence"]

[Excerpts] Duesseldorf, 22 March—If everything works according to the plans of Romanian state and party chief Ceausescu, in 18 months the country will be the only European country without debts except for Albania, which has not taken out any loans.

This is supported by the fact that in 1988 the Balkan country reduced its debts from $5.5 billion to about $3.5 billion. In the future, Romania is not supposed to take out any loans and will thus follow Albania's example. If one subtracts the amount of loans that Romania has granted to other countries (totaling about $2 billion), the country could be free of debts even earlier. However, Romania certainly has its own worries with its debtors in the Third World. [passage omitted]

Exports alone would not have been enough to achieve a balance surplus, if imports had not been drastically cut back at the same time. The cutbacks concerned not only materials for consumer goods but also machinery and spare parts for industry.

Thus, the machinery has become obsolete and is crumbling. A gross discrepancy has developed between the plans, which envisage growth rates of 8 to 10 percent, and reality. Western experts estimate the growth of the national product at 1 to 2 percent in 1989, but if one takes into account the loss of substance because of the lack of spare parts and insufficient maintenance, one can assume that the national product might even decline. The plan envisages a growth of 9 to 10 percent. [passage omitted]

The future of the Romanian economy, first of all of industry, requires more imports of machinery, spare parts, and facilities. One of Romania's Western business partners commented: "If the industry continues to be starved, there will not be much left to preserve and renovate."

Ceausescu Receives Cuban Parliamentary Group

AU2303185989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/03/1989—On Thursday, March 23, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP
sident of Romania, received a Cuban parliamentary delegation led by Severo Aguirre Cristo, president of the National Assembly of People's Power of the Republic of Cuba, who are paying a visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the Grand National Assembly.

The chief delegate conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a cordial salute and warm wishes on behalf of Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba. At the same time, the guest thanked for having been received, for the opportunity to visit Romania and to get acquainted with the Romanian people's achievements in socialist construction.

Thanking for the message, Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed Fidel Castro Ruz a warm salute and the best wishes of success in his entire activity.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the traditional relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Cuba, between the peoples of the two countries. The possibilities were underscored of further developing those ties, more particularly, in the economic, technical, scientific and other areas of activity. The further expansion of manysided cooperation between Romania and Cuba was shown to be in the interest and for the benefit of the two peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

During the interview, aspects of the activity of socialist construction in Romania and Cuba and concerns for their further development by consistently applying the principles of scientific socialism to specific realities in either country were outlined.

Problems of the current international situation were also approached, with emphasis on the need to achieve disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, to peacefully settle states of conflict, through negotiations, to eradicate underdevelopment, to establish a new world economic order and to assert a climate of detente, understanding, peace and broad international cooperation.

The interview was attended by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

Also present was Niel Ruiz Guerra, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba in Bucharest.

Ceausescu Meets With Departing Thai Envoy

AU2303113489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received the ambassador of Thailand, Ukrit Durayaprama on a farewell visit in connection with the end of his mission to our country.

During the meeting, the sides emphasized the relations of cooperation that have been established and are developing between Romania and Thailand, and expressed the desire to work to further expand and diversify these relations in their mutual interests and for the benefit of the cause of peace, understanding, and international cooperation.

The Thai ambassador expressed warm thanks to President Nicolae Ceausescu for the support he had received in fulfilling his mission in Romania.

Andrei Attends Arab Ambassadors' Reception

AU2303103089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1000 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/3/1989—The Bucharest ambassadors of the Arab countries gave a reception on March 22, on the Arab League's anniversary.

The guests included Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, executives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representatives of other ministries and central institutions, men of culture and art.

Diplomatic heads of mission accredited to Romania, other members of the diplomatic corps attended.

Justice Minister's Speech Marks Antiracism Day

AU2103211889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2044 GMT 21 Mar 89

["Festive Meeting"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/3/1989—On Tuesday, March 21, Bucharest was the venue of a festive meeting organized under the aegis of the Romanian Association for the United Nations, the Youth and Student Association of Romania for the United Nations and the Association for International Law and International Relations, to mark in Romania the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Taking the floor on the occasion was Maria Bobu, minister of justice, who underscored the significance of the proclamation and observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the UN efforts in the respective area, as well as Romania's consistent and principled position in support of the just fight fought by the majority population in South Africa to abolish the policy of apartheid, of the people's fight to liquidate any forms of colonialism and neocolonialism and for national independence.

It was further stressed that the Romanian people, Socialist Romania gave and gives full support to the actions undertaken by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and the national liberation movements in austral Africa for the eradication of racism, most firmly demanding that an end be put to racist repressions, that the patriots in the South African prisons be set free.

In context, emphasis was placed on the support granted by Romania to the efforts made currently for the application of the UN Security Council Resolution No 435 on the Namibian people's access to independence.

The feelings of active solidarity of the Romanian people with the struggle of African peoples, with the struggle of the majority population in South Africa, for the implementation of their inalienable right to be masters of their destinies, the speaker pointed out, were reiterated during the official friendly visits paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Mrs Elena Ceausescu to a number of African countries.

In the closing part of the address, the achievements of the Romanian people in socialist construction were described. Romania's constitution and laws, the speaker highlighted, provide fully equal rights for all the homeland's citizens, with no discrimination.

During the festive meeting, Ottorino Jannono, resident coordinator of operational activities for development in the UN system, director of the UN Information Centre in Bucharest, read the message of the UN secretary-general on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Attending were executives of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, representatives of the Bucharest City People's Council, of central institutions, university staff, researchers, students, newspapermen, a large audience.

Ceausescu Sends Message to Red Cross Congress

AU2103110389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1016 GMT 21 Mar 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Message to the Congress of the Red Cross Society of the Socialist Republic of Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/03/1989—On the opening of the Congress of the Red Cross Society of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I take particular pleasure in conveying the delegates and guests to this broad forum, the public workers and all the members of the organization a warm salute and the best wishes on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], of the State Council and of the Government, just as of my own.

The congress takes place at a time of strong patriotic commitment on the part of the whole people to the fulfilment of the targets concerning the country's socioeconomic development, to the implementation of the RCP programme for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society and advance to communism. The results scored in developing industrial and farm production and in better administering the national wealth by firmly applying the programmes for the intensive development and the organization and updating of industry and of the other branches of the national economy, on the basis of the latest gains in science and technology, as well as the measures taken for the completion, a month ahead of schedule, of the pay raise drive and of the action aimed at increasing 40 per cent the amount of cereals intended for the fund to remunerate cooperative farmers and their families provide for a consistent application of the RCP policy aimed at creating ever better working and living conditions for all Romania's citizens.

As part of this policy, which is imbued with a strong revolutionary humanism that places the ensurance of fundamental human rights—the right to work, to housing, to instruction, to education and culture, to a dignified and happy life, to peace—at the core of its concerns, the RCP and Romanian state pay special attention to public health care and to the improvement of all social activities.

Integrating itself into the entire people's effort, the Red Cross Society, which is a member of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front—a mass organization boasting a broad public character, which enrolls more than 7.5 million members and carries on its activity with the precious help of the over 700,000 public activists and more than 127,000 sanitary groups and first-aid stations—makes a significant contribution to the implementation of the health and social policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state.

I warmly congratulate the Red Cross Society, its volunteer workers, all the members of the organization on the good results scored in their activity and wish them new and ever more important successes in fulfilling the noble mission they have assumed in the social life of our country, for the welfare and happiness of the whole people.

The Red Cross Congress is called upon extensively and thoroughly to analyze the activity carried through by the National Council and the commissions of this organization for the implementation of the health policy pursued by the RCP and the Romanian state, of all the programmes and measures aimed at enhancing the physical and intellectual vigour and the power of work and creation of all citizens, in line with the conditions offered by the socialist society. Involving in its activity ever larger number of citizens the Red Cross is called upon to make a more palpable and efficient contribution to increasing the quality of medicare. The broad and strong active of the Red Cross Society must carry on an intense and efficient work of health education, to thus further expand the average span of life of the Romanian people, by firmly and consistently fulfilling all the measures intended to provide for the strengthening of the individual and collective health condition. The Red Cross must work more intensely to educate the citizens in the spirit of the demographic policy promoted by the Romanian state the aims of which are to have families with many children, to train parents for appropriately rearing the new generations. The Red Cross committees and comissions will have to lay special stress on educating all citizens to firmly observe sanitation rules at home, at their work places so that, in close collaboration with the people's councils and with deputies, with all inhabitants, a fine sanitation of all Romanian towns and villages may be maintained. Let us do so that our socialist society's attention and care for providing the best working and living conditions for the people, for developing all the settlements be—for all those working within the Red Cross—a powerful stimulus to make an ever growing contribution to continuously raising the standard of material and spiritual civilization of our entire nation, to the continuous flowering of Socialist Romania.

The Romanian Red Cross Society—the aim of which is the noble duty of serving people's life and health—is called upon to make its active contribution to our people's fight for a policy of peace and cooperation among all peoples a real point of honour under the current serious and complex international circumstances, everything possible should be done to halt the arms race, first of all to eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons so that the peoples may live free from the fear of falling victim to a devastating war, that could destroy living conditions on the earth. Everything possible should be done to eliminate the use and threat of force from the international life, to peacefully solve all interstate litigious issues through negotiations. Furthermore, everything possible should be done to build a better and more just world by eradicating underdevelopment, the poverty and misery in which a large part of mankind lives and because of which millions of people, young people in particular, annually die of hunger, are torn by diseases or suffer from lack of elementary conditions for access to the gains of contemporary civilization.

Working in the spirit of the peace and collaboration policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state, the Red Cross should militate more actively to develop relations of friendship and collaboration with similar organizations in all the states of the world, irrespective of their social systems, and work—within international Red Cross bodies—for their enhanced contribution to the strong assertion and promotion of a new course in the international life, on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, mutual advantage, non-interference in domestic affairs, in the interest of all peoples, of the cause of peace, security, understanding and international collaboration.

Convinced that the diligent public workers of the Red Cross Society of the Socialist Republic of Romania will spare no effort to best fulfil their important tasks in implementing the home and foreign policy of RCP and of the Romanian state, I wish the members, all its workers important successes to mark the 45th anniversary of the victorious antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of social and national liberation and the Fourteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party—events of utmost importance in the life of the party, of our entire people.

I wish you all good health and happiness.

I wish full success to the proceedings of the congress.

SCINTEIA Carries Editorial on Sanctity of Law

AU2103111889 Budapest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[Editorial: "An Important Requirement of the Revolutionary-Patriotic Spirit: Strict Observance of the Country's Laws—a Militant and Firm Attitude Toward Every Action That Could Harm the Interests of Our People and Our State"]

[Text] Under the wise leadership of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], our people score new and significant successes every day on the path of unflinchingly implementing the objectives of raising our homeland to new levels of progress and civilization. The material and cultural heritage of our socialist nation is being continuously increased by the outstanding results achieved by the working people throughout the country in fulfilling and overfulfilling their tasks, ensuring that our means and resources are increasingly better managed and utilized, and stongly asserting their awareness as producers and owners of the national wealth and end users of all the achievements.

The almost 4 and ½ decades that have passed since our homeland firmly embarked on the path of freely and independently building its new life, particularly in the years that followed the glorious Ninth RCP Congress, prove on the basis of undeniable facts the fruitful character of the road we have traveled, the ability of the workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia—working in close unity around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—to ensure the continuous socioeconomic development, and the firm determination of the whole nation to proceed steadily on the path of building the new, socialist system and of ensuring Romania's dignified, free, independent, and sovereign assertion among the nations of the world.

The magnificent achievements of our people in all socioeconomic areas and the constant increase in our national wealth justify the sentiments of profound satisfaction and great patriotic pride clearly expressed by the working people, young and old, men and women, in towns and villages. These are sentiments that are strongly reflected in the work, revolutionary attitude, and new dimensions of the everlasting moral qualities of our people. The priceless virtue of honesty itself acquires a richer content, representing, above all, honesty toward the whole society, toward its well-established norms, and toward our socialist state.

Creating a new economy and great national wealth, achieving profound changes in social life, and establishing new relations, the essence of which is represented by constant care for increasing, consolidating and preserving the wealth of society in the interest and for the benefit of the working people and our whole nation, our socialist society created a legal system intended to consolidate these great achievements and defend our people's fundamental interests and our homeland's free and sovereign development. We must never forget that, as reality has shown, reactionary circles have not given up the attempt to promote hostile, antisocialist, and anti-Romanian attitudes and to harm the interests of our people and of our socialist state.

Consistently promoting the principles according to which socialism is and must be the result of the conscious creation of the masses, the measures to perfect socialist legality provided a legal framework for the profound democratic character of our legal system, through which the will of our whole nation has been raised to the status of law and the socialist state is the legitimate representative of the interests of the people's masses. In this respect, the continuous development of socialist democracy calls for an increase in the responsibility of all working people in carrying out their activity and for the development of legal awareness. This means that that each person, regardless of his place in society, should work in all circumstances in the communist spirit of honesty and correctness and should observe and defend the socialist law, and that those who infringe the provisions of the law and thus harm the interests of society should be held responsible for their actions in accordance with their guilt.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, has stressed, it should be clearly understood that "the revolutionary democracy and the state of workers revolutionary democracy require perfect discipline and order! Socialism cannot be achieved through nonobservance of laws, through their violation, through anarchy! This represents a middle class and a lower middle class spirit, alien to the revolutionary concept and alien to the workers class, which, basically, is a disciplined, revolutionary class."

As an expression of the people's will and interests, the law is compulsory for all, and the exact and consistent observance of its provisions is an unquestionable requirement; whoever disregards the provisions of the law and whoever transcends the framework of the law, no matter who he is or what position he holds, is in fact taking a position that is against society and against the cause of developing and perfecting the socialist system.

An expression of the joint and concerted will and interest of the people, the laws of the country protect the normal social life, socialist property, the country's wealth, and the national goods and values created through work and with creative self-denial. Protecting the interests of our society, the legal norms contain a number of preventive regulations, among which are the provisions on ensuring, protecting, and safeguarding state secrets. The particular importance of these regulations springs from the vital importance of the values to be protected, because the secret data and information contain the results of the creative work of the working people's collectives and of the best specialists and are valued as a national interest. All this requires increased revolutionary vigilance and demands greater intransigence, care, and firmness in the observance of the provisions of the law that protect state secrets. If every legal norm should be strictly observed by all citizens and if all working people and all citizens should show an active and militant attitude in connection with the application of all the provisions of the law, then all the more do the regulations on preserving, handling, and using state secrets require increased exactingness and a greater militant spirit. Certainly, the party and state cadres in the field of the economy and in all other fields should be the first to set a most convincing example, through their entire activity, behavior, and their unfaltering correctness. The solemn oath of each Communist when he is accepted among the ranks of the party members, the oath of allegiance and devotion to the homeland and socialist state expressed by each state activist, must be honored every day, every moment, in all circumstances, and through exemplary activity, as well as through discipline, correctness, and unflinching observance of the legal norms. Since it is every person's duty to be completely aware of his tasks and of the nature of the documents he is dealing with, the duty of preserving, handling, and using data that contain state secrets requires the highest degree of attention, correctness, strictness, honesty, and seriousness, a degree representing complete exactingness and absolutely irreproachable behavior. Such behavior is required not only by the importance of the data but also by the potential danger posed by the smallest slip, omission, or lack of attention. Failure to observe the norms established for state secrets and the undignified behavior of some people in their contacts with representatives of other states, including the negotiations of economic contracts, sometimes starts from apparently harmless weaknesses and shortcomings, such as boastfulness, garrulousness, "omniscient" and "gullible" attitudes, lack of attention, superficiality, and negligence in dealing with and preserving secret documents. Lenience toward or the overlooking of such attitudes are used to advantage, sought, and even entertained by traitors, spies, enemies of the country, and adversaries of socialism. No one can engage in any activity that is at variance with the interests of Socialist Romania. In this respect, to be understanding means to play into the hands of the reactionary circles, at the expense of the people's interest and of socialist construction.

Our party and state have always promoted and continue to promote a broad policy of cooperation among all countries of the world in accordance with the principles of complete equality of rights, mutual advantage, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and nonrecourse to force or the threat of force. These unanimously accepted principles of international law proscribe any interference in and any form of harming the legitimate interests of each country. Among them is the right of each country—as part of its sovereignty—to protect data and information that is important for the state activity, for the respective economy, and for the respective nation. It is no accident that all the states of the world without exception maintain and enforce their own regulations and norms appropriate to their conditions, in order to safeguard such data. Everywhere in the world, state secrets and economic, technical, and technological secrets are closely guarded.

More than once in the history of peoples, attempts on their independence and sovereignty and on their national wealth were preceded by perfidious, treacherous slogans that "invite" people to embrace liberalism, anarchy, and disobedience of the laws—slogans that are taken over with embarrassing naivete by some people and with ill intentions by treacherous elements. The lessons of history should not be forgotten, not even when dishonest intentions appear in a new garb. What connection can there possibly be between the alleged "human rights" claimed by a hostile, imperialist propaganda for the purpose of interfering in internal affairs and the legal regulations aimed at safeguarding the national wealth and the interests of the whole nation, its rights to freely and independently forge its own destiny?!

The true rights of the people—such as the right to social freedom, to creative activity, to work and education, and to a dignified existence and life—are safeguarded and achieved fully in accordance with strengthening the country, ensuring its progress, and firmly applying the law. Laws stem from the common will of the people. On the basis of constitutional provisions, they sanction their rights, relations, and obligations, which are closely connected with the common higher interests of all working people and of all categories of citizens. This is precisely why unflinching observance of socialist legality is a natural and intrinsic expression of the unity of the workers class, the peasantry, intelligentsia, and our whole nation. In light of the working people's responsibility and creative efforts to implement established programs, all the more reprehensible—morally, politically, publicly, and legally—are the attitudes that violate the country's laws and slander the people's great achievements, and that, in the final analysis, reveal ill will, a slanderous intent, and betrayal of the revolutionary cause.

An overwhelming majority of our citizens observe the socialist laws, they understand the significance of established regulations on safeguarding state secrets, show correct and dignified conduct in all circumstances, and make it a duty of honor and dignity to depict realities and the work of the people as they really are, and to react firmly to any attempt to distort facts, to make malevolent and slanderous insinuations, and overstate—for slanderous purposes—certain difficulties and shortfalls, which, in fact, are inherent in any process of development and many-sided socioeconomic improvement. Correct conduct, observance of the law, and a responsible civic attitude are the result of the development of socialist awareness and a positive result of the activity of publicizing and being acquainted with the law, and a result of the political-educational activity in general, which has been broadly discussed in the forums of our workers revolutionary democracy. The need to ensure complete lawfulness, increase vigilance and revolutionary militancy implies a constant and systematic educational activity, and it requires keeping the revolutionary spirit and social responsibility constantly alive. In this sense, the party, mass, and civic organizations, and all bodies of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, are called upon to initiate and regularly take action to publicize laws, to explain the content, letter, and spirit of regulations in various areas, thus ensuring in each working collective an atmosphere of socialist legality, of vigilance and militancy, and of affirming a revolutionary, patriotic spirit. "We must strengthen the responsibility, order, and discipline of both collective bodies and of each citizens in our homeland in his job and throughout the socioeconomic activity. We have regulations, we have norms of socialist ethics and equity—and they must be firmly asserted in all areas of activity," the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has stressed.

All our people are working with dedication to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the National Conference determined to welcome the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the 14th RCP Congress with fresh and outstanding achievements. Nothing and nobody can make our socialist nation sway from the road along which it is firmly and confidently marching in indestructible unity and from its free and independent road to progress, an ever higher level of material and cultural civilization, and the road to building the most just society—the socialist and communist system.

Kosovo Assembly Approves Serbian Amendments

LD2303140889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1304 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 23 (TANJUG)—President of the Provincial Assembly of Kosovo Vukasin Jokanovic on Thursday called on the delegates to give their approval to the proposed amendments to the Constitution of Serbia and make it a formal act and proof that the progressive forces of all nations and nationalities in the province have won a victory over reactionary forces.

The proposed constitutional changes give Serbia jurisdiction—such as the other Yugoslav republics already have—over its entire territory, including the Autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

In addition to ethnic Albanians, Kosovo is inhabited by Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Moslems (who are a separate nationality in Yugoslavia), Romanies, Croats and others.

Until now, Albanian chauvinists and separatists were trying to stir up opposition to the constitutional changes among the majority ethnic Albanian population by spreading rumours that the province's autonomy will be abolished and their rights curtailed.

The latest manifestation of opposition to the changes was last month's strike of ethnic Albanian miners in the Trepca mining complex, which was joined by strikes of ethnic Albanian workers in some of Kosovo enterprises and boycott of lectures by Pristina University students.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1345 GMT on 23 March in a brief report adds: "The Kosovo Assembly has adopted the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Out of the total number of delegates present, 10 voted against and 2 abstained."]

Further Report

LD2303195889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1830 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 23 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo today approved, with an overwhelming majority, the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia whose part the province is. This opens the door to Serbia's Constitution itself as a state with all necessary functions on the whole of its territory.

Ten delegates were against the constitutional changes and two abstained from voting.

The formal approval of the constitutional changes received a standing ovation.

Addressing the Assembly, President of the Kosovo Assembly Vukasin Jokanovic said that today is historic, adding that that now remains for the Assembly of Serbia to proclaim formally, on March 28, the constitutional amendments adopted, as the Province of Vojvodina already said "Yes" to the amendments last week.

The voting on the constitutional amendments was preceded by an opening speech by Kosovo Assembly President Vukasin Jokanovic and a discussion by delegates. A common conclusion is that changes are necessary and that they do not take anything away from the autonomy. The proposed amendments do not in any way change fundamental constitutional principles or affect the autonomy of the two provinces, either economic or legislative, they do not lessen the rights of any nation or nationality, Jokanovic stressed several times.

The fact that the amendments finally ensure equal status in some state functions to Serbia with the other Yugoslav republics means, Jokanovic stressed, that besides the province, the republic will be one more guarantor of the rights and freedoms of all who live on its territory.

Jokanovic particularly stressed the principle of equality of the Serbo-Croat and the languages of (?nationalities), the principle with which Albanian nationalists and separatists had specially manipulated, spreading misinformation that the constitutional changes will abolish the use of the Albanian language. On the contrary, Jokanovic stressed, the constitutional changes ensure equality in the official use of the languages.

The Constitution specifies provisions of the republic criminal law which will be implemented uniformly. This will be especially important in eliminating the feelings of insecurity of Serbs and Montenegrins living in the province, Jokanovic stressed.

Jokanovic also cleared up the dilemmas over the amendments relating to uniform legal provisions in national defence, internal affairs and international relations.

The Republic of Serbia gets back some (?comments) in these fields in order to be able to carry out a number of necessary functions on the whole of its territory. However, Jokanovic stressed, the responsibility and competences of the provinces are not affected in any way.

Stating the support to the amendments, Imer Dzafichi, ethnic Albanian delegate, thinks, for example, that the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution, that is, the new Constitution, will mean a new chapter in the life together of ethnic Albanians, Serbis, Montenegrins and all other nations and nationalities living in Kosovo.

Kosovo is the province of all nations and nationalities living there, not only of Albanians, delegate Halit Ahmet stated, adding that nothing has been taken away from the Albanians by constitutional amendments and called on all to return to factories, schools, in short, to work.

Delegates of the Kosovo Assembly today approved the constitutional amendments with an overwhelming majority convinced, as they stressed, that in this way a further migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the province will be stopped, that peace will finally return to the province and that inter-nationality relations will be improved, that a road to a better and happier future will be taken together.

Thousands in Urosevac Protest Amendments

LD2303141289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Several thousand citizens of Albanian nationality, who are against the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, have gathered in the center of Urosevac. Those gathered are shouting slogans: "Tito—the party", and "Leave the Constitution alone".

The protest is under way; so far security organs have not intervened.

Police Intervene

LD2303151589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—In Urosevac, after provocation by a number of citizens who had gathered, the police have intervened. About 1,000 youths, mostly secondary schoolchidlren of Albanian nationality, showered the security forces with stones, after which the policemen separated them into small groups. Otherwise, the situation in the town is very tense. The demonstrators shouted: "Urosevac is against the changes to the Constitution" and "We want our comrades." They also sang a song about the oath given to Kosovo.

In addition, there were individual cases of the shouting of the slogan, "Kosovo—a republic."

Number of Protesters Increase

LD2303160389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—The number of demonstrators of Albanian nationality in Urosevac is increasing. At the moment, over 5,000 of them are protesting in the Bratstvo i Jedinstvo Street in the center of the city. They are shouting such slogans as: "We shall give our lives, but not Kosovo," "Equality," "Tito party."

The demonstrators whistled and catcalled when a helicopter flew over and several army vehicles drove past. They also showed the v-for-victory sign. Individuals have been noticed "conducting" the behavior of the masses. The militiamen are not allowing the main body of the demonstration to be joined by two other largish groups of demonstrators.

Report From Pristina

AU2303163989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Correspondent's telephone report from Pristina on the "An Argument More" program—live]

[Text] [Announcer] This is our correspondent in Pristina, Milivoje Mihajlovic. Go ahead.

[Mihajlovic] Good day. I have just returned from Urosevac, where demonstrations by several thousand people are under way. The demonstrations started this morning, at about the time when the Kosovo Assembly session began. It all started when some 150 to 200 women and children came out in the streets and repeated the slogans that could be heard in the streets of Kosovo towns in November.

[Announcer] That is to say, in the way described in some leaflets.

[Mihajlovic] Yes, yes, precisely so. As was pretty much expected.

[Announcer] Until what time were you in Urosevac?

[Mihajlovic] I returned from Urosevac 5 minutes ago, and was there until about 30 minutes ago.

[Announcer] At the time you left, how many demonstrators were there in the streets?

[Mihajlovic] At the time I was leaving there were several large groups of demonstrators in the streets of Urosevac. One of the largest groups was in front of the communal assembly building, composed chiefly of women and children. They sang, forming a group around the monument.

Several other small groups, groups of several hundred demonstrators, mainly tried to push in from other narrow streets. There are many militiamen with helmets and arms, and they are trying to prevent the groups from joining together.

[Announcer] Are they being successful?

[Mihajlovic] On the whole, they have been successful. However, it seems that the groups are becoming more and more militant, so one cannot expect or foresee what the end will be in Urosevac today.

[Announcer] What is being shouted? What can be heard?

[Mihajlovic] One hears the slogans that one heard in November. For the time being, none of my reporter colleagues has heard any hostile slogans, at least none of the colleagues I saw. The shouts are heard: 'We will not give up the 1974 Constitution,' as well as the song, 'I gave my word that I would give my life for Kosovo.'

[Announcer] All in all....

[Mihajlovic] All in all, the situation is uncertain in Urosevac this afternoon.

And another thing, in Pristina, in the piazza, or rather in the space between the student dormitories, about 500 students have gathered. For the time being, they are just sitting. They are not demonstrating. One cannot hear anything, but a large number of militia forces are there for security.

Demonstrations Continue

LD2303175389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Urosevac, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Urosevac is almost completely blockaded by the security forces and most of the 3,000 demonstrators are isolated in the part of town where the orthodox church and the mosque are located.

Demonstrators continue to shout: "Our life yes, but not Kosovo!" "We pledge to give our lives for Kosovo!", "Kosovo yes, Metohija no!" Every so often they are making v-for-victory signs. At about 1630 [1530 GMT] there was yet another minor incident between the militia and a group of demonstrators who had been pushed away; they responded by throwing stones.

Situation Described as 'Tense'

AU2303191189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Urosevac—recorded]

[Text] The situation continues to be tense in Urosevac. The demonstrations by the Albanians that started this morning are still going on. About 6,000 demonstrators were in Urosevac streets this afternoon. At that time, strong militia forces succeeded in breaking them up into several groups, without any use of force.

Immediately before the beginning of this newscast, there were about 200 women and children in the center of town, in the Brotherhood and Unity Square. They are mainly repeating the slogans that were heard in November last year. There are some isolated shouts of the slogan, Kosovo republic.

In the Marshal Tito Street, a few hundred meters from the square, militia cordons on the left and the right side barred the way to two large groups of several thousand demonstrators who are each trying to reach the center. Smaller groups of demonstrators are also trying to reach the Marshal Tito Square from side streets.

The militia intervened on several occasions, and the demonstrators responded by throwing stones. The main street in Urosevac is secured by strong security forces and several fire engines.

All the approaches to the town are blocked. The militia is allowing only local people to enter.

Tear Gas, Batons Used

AU2303211989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic from Urosevac—recorded]

[Text] At about 2100 [2000 GMT], strong forces of the Security Service dispersed three groups of several thousand of the most persistent demonstrators in Urosevac. These demonstrators chanted the slogan, "We do not want any changes; (Mustafa Goga) must be free." One also heard the slogan, "Kosovo republic."

On several occasions, the most militant groups of the demonstrators threw stones at militia lines. Several shots were also heard, fired from firearms toward the militia lines.

Since the demonstrators did not listen to the militia warning that they should disperse, tear gas and rubber truncheons were used. The militia intervention lasted some 10 minutes. On that occasion, one could see that several militiamen as well as demonstrators were injured. Militiamen were hit with stones or bricks.

At this moment, there are no demonstrations in Urosevac streets. They were obviously organized by the Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Statement on Protests Issued

LD2403043189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0250 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 23 (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs late Thursday evening issued an announcement on today's ethnic-Albanian demonstrations in Pristina and Urosevac saying they "were the act of organized enemy forces" and were "an organized counter-revolutionary activity."

The demonstrations are "a direct attack" on the special measures introduced in Serbia's southern province by the Yugoslav Presidency on February 27 to stabilize the situation, the announcement said.

The Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs warned all citizens, primarily pupils and students, "to resist the influence of the Albanian nationalists and separatists and to refuse their demand to take to the streets." The members of the security organs will "immediately take all legal measures" against those who try to threaten public peace and order, the announcement warned.

The announcement said that a group of demonstrators in Urosevac threw stones at the police and that "some policemen were injured," but did not state exactly how many. It also added that after this the police used "forceful means" against aggressive individuals.

A number of students, it is said, tried to reach the center of Pristina and were prevented from doing so by the police who were forced to use rubber batons after some individuals resisted.

TANJUG Round-Up on Unrest

LD2403103589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0849 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—In contrast to last night, this morning in Kosovo it is almost a normal, peaceful day. In Urosevac, where Albanian separatists demonstrated yesterday, the situation has calmed down. Enhanced security forces are still in the town.

In Stari Trg, near Titova Mitrovica, 96 percent of the miners—in other words, 389 of them—turned up for work this morning. At the Kisnica mine, however, 115 of the 386 workers are at work—145 are absent without permission—while 56 are on sick leave. All People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committees and other competent organs will therefore have their hands full, especially at the magnesite mine in Lipljan, where regular shifts have not been ensured.

This morning, one brief work stoppage in Prizren was also recorded. About 50 workers at a shoe factory stopped work for 30 minutes.

In parallel with the more responsible attitude toward work duties, concrete measures for differentation among those who are idle and sabotuers are also being taken in the province. Thus, for example, about 200 workers at the Gnjilane textile combine who refused to resume work will be answering for this before disciplinary commissions. In the Gival Basic Organization of Associated Labor, 17 workers who failed to turn up for work have been suspended, and in the Taftisoc Basic Organization of Associated Labor, 50 workers will find themselves before a disciplinary commission.

Injuries, Detainments Announced

AU2403132489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] It is quiet in Kosovo today. The situation in Urosevac, where Albanian separatists demonstrated yesterday, has calmed down. The city security center has announced that 11 militiamen were slightly injured during last night's intervention. A number of demonstrators were also injured.

The Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs has detained 55 people, some of whom are being given sentences for misdemeanors of 30 to 60 days in prison. Criminal charges will also be filed against others, says TANJUG.

The Urosevac Committee for All-People's Protection and Social Self-Defense assessed that the demonstrations by Albanian pupils, students, and young people were organized by Albanian nationalists and separatists. The demonstrations had been planned and worked out and were directed against the constitutional changes.

More Demonstrations 24 Mar

AU2403142189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] After this morning's peace in Kosovo, there has been more unrest this afternoon. More than 2,000 young Albanians in Urosevac are demonstrating along the main road. Pupils of Albanian nationality in some secondary schools in the province are boycotting lessons by keeping silent. Lectures in Albanian at most faculties in Pristina have not been held today. Here is a report by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

The wave of protests by Albanians dissatisfied with the adoption of the Serbian constitutional changes began again in Kosovo this afternoon. At about 1330 [1230 GMT] demonstrations were started in Urosevac by mainly young Albanians. These are similar to yesterday's protests. The same slogans are being heard, of which the loudest are: We will not give up the 1974 Constitution and Kosovo, yes—Metohija, no. The demonstrators first of all gathered in the main street in front of the building of sociopolitical organizations and then set off through the town. Strong militia forces have blocked all approaches to the main street. The demonstrators threw stones at the militiamen several times, who retaliated with rubber truncheons.

As I report, a quite large group of demonstrators has been isolated in 7th July Street. Quite a large number of demonstrators have been detained. To remind ourselves, the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs last night warned after the militia intervention that in the case of new counterrevolutionary unrest, security organs will take all measures in line with their constitutional powers.

Otherwise, work in some collectives in Kosovo stopped today for a short time. This morning, workers in the Prizren commune stopped production for 30 minutes, but they resumed work after talks with the provincial and factory leaderships. There was also a 15-minute work stoppage with the same outcome in the fittings factory in Podujevo. Albanian pupils at secondary schools in this town are boycotting lessons by keeping silent.

All workers who were called in reported for work at the Stari Trg mine. There are 420 miners working in the mines of Kisnica and Novo Brdo, but 300 miners are absent for no reason. The miners of the first shift in Goles came to work this morning, refused to work, and then went home.

Lectures in Albanian are not being held in the law, medicine, and agricultural faculties in Pristina and in colleges in Urosevac, Prizren, and Titova Mitrovica.

Bozidar Colakovic, president of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [SAWP] of Yugoslavia, today had talks with the Kosovo SAWP leadership on the political-security situation in the province. As announced, he stated the irreplaceable role of this largest sociopolitical organization in eliminating hostile and negative phenomena. As reported, Colakovic also had talks with the leadership of Pristina University.

Pristina University Students Stage Protest

AU2303200089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Kosta Krajincanic report from Pristina—recorded]

[Text] Ethnic Albanian students in Pristina have been publicly demonstrating their silent protest beginning today. This protest has made no defined political demands as of yet, but its background and cause can certainly be ascertained.

At about 1000, which is to say precisely at the time when the Kosovo Assembly session began, a group of about 500 students first gathered in the area between the student dormitories. By noon, the number of boys and girls had doubled, and about 30 minutes ago, in the dusk, some 1,500 were gathered.

They sit or stand around in small groups, keep silent, or converse quietly. The militia keeps watch on the gathering. Approaches have not been sealed off. Individuals or small groups may enter the yard of the student center, which is to say a grass area between the student dormitories and the canteens.

I asked some students who were sitting in such a group what was happening and why they had gathered. They told me they were resting because the evening was nice, and that there was nothing wrong with this.

Special measures in Kosovo include a ban on public gatherings. No measures are being taken against the students who have gathered, perhaps precisely because of the explanation that I heard. An uninitiated observer may find this gathering like a picnic in a park, but matters are clear to those who had heard before the provincial assembly session that protests had been announced.

At this place, from where even now you are hearing this report, and where some 1,500 students are gathered, demonstrations were launched in March and April 1981. At that time, the slogan, Kosovo republic was shouted in the streets. Now, 8 years later, the protest against the constitutional changes is being expressed with silence. The political tone is the same in either case.

Further Report

LD2303175789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Everywhere in Kosovo, except for Urosevac, things are quiet. The only thing happening is that several hundred students, who are not making any kind of demands, but are peacefully standing around or sitting in groups, have gathered in areas adjacent to the student dormitories in Pristina.

Work is going on in most Kosovo collectives. It is only in the Goles mine that about 70 workers went to the mine area this morning and then returned to their homes. Most ethnic Albanian workers in the Kisnica i Novo Brdo mine did not work. There were also short work boycotts involving a small number of participants in several other collectives.

Pristina Conference Focuses on Albanian Appeal

LD2003194189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—The unmasking of the "appeal" by 215 Albanian intellectuals from Kosovo, which is aimed against acceptance of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, is one of the most important tasks approved today by the Presidium of the Pristina University League of Communists [LC] Action Conference. This "appeal"—the signatories of which are also members of the organs of the LC of Kosovo and Serbia—it was observed, preceded the February events at Pristina University, and is a constituent part of the scenario calculated to block the implementation of party conclusions on Kosovo.

The conclusions of the university party forum also stress the obligation of implementing ideopolitical differentiation, including the replacement of those in senior posts in education as well as the expulsion from the LC of those who aided and abetted or are still supporting the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists. Party organizations are also obliged to take stands on all those who in the February events insisted on the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, and who wholeheartedly supported other unacceptable demands of the Trepca miners.

In addition to this, it was requested that differentiation be set into motion immediately, starting with members of the Presidium of the university action conference. This stance was, however, interpreted by Ramus Mavrici as "a campaign against and a pursuit of people". He even said of Stipe Suvar, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, that during his meeting with the miners in Stari Trg, he had accepted most of their demands as justified and had allegedly dissociated himself from only two or three of their unacceptable demands.

Dr Stevan Baljosevic and Dr Slobodan Maric dissociated themselves from Mavrici's line of argument. Dr Skender Karahoda, president of the Presidium of the university LC action conference, at today's session refused to be a candidate for president of the Presidium of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and stressed that to accept this new post would fuel the arguments of those who want to see him leave the university. I cannot allow this either as a human being nor as a Communist, Dr Karahoda said.

Vice Admiral Addresses Pristina Unit on Role

LD2103002189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—You are here to fulfill the noble task of securing peaceful existence for our citizens, to serve as a warning to all those intent on retailoring Yugoslavia, and to encourage the majority of the people who are willing to work and create in freedom, in brotherhood and unity, and without divisions, Vice Admiral Petar Simic said during a conversation with members of the unit under the command of officer [as received] Bande Petrovski, stationed in the Marshal Tito barracks in Pristina. By being here, we are not threatening anyone, nor is this an act of defiance, Petar Simic, who is also member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee and president of the LCY Committee Presidium of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], said, addressing the unit, but our task here is a quite clear and serious one: If all political measures now taken fail, we are here to hamper all sinister plans by nationalists and separatists aimed at destroying Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is being defended now, here in Kosovo, where the rights, the peace, and freedoms of our working people and citizens, and of the Serbs and Montenegrins, above all, are being directly threatened.

Yugoslavia was not created according to a plan or arrangements, and no one will therefore be allowed to divide us according to nationalist, separatist, or some other hostile prescriptions coming from either inside or abroad, Petar Simic stressed. In the same context, he made particular reference to the consequences of nationalist activities—and not just on the part of Albanian nationalists—and stressed that they are the most serious political and social evil to confront our society for a long time. According to Simic, it is nationalists who are working hardest at deepening the crisis in our country, and who have been mustering hostile forces in Yugoslavia in an effort to achieve their sinister goals. He went on to say that it was nationalists who in 1941 were the first to offer their services to the occupying forces, and that today they are prepared to betray their country in order to realize their own narrow interests.

Nationalists, Simic said, can go on trying to threaten Yugoslavia's stability, but they will never succeed. The YPA, by adhering to its pledge given to Comrade Tito to safeguard the SFRY's security, its territorial integrity, and the constitutional order, is a guarantee that this will not happen.

Petar Simic stressed that the changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia are part of the constitutional changes in the country as a whole, designed to regulate, in a more appropriate way, political relations in Yugoslavia. It is nothing but a lie, the president of the party organization in the YPA stressed, when Albanian nationalists and separatists give a different interpretation of the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, claiming that they are designed to abolish the national rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia and to reduce the degree of autonomy enjoyed by Kosovo. According to him, changes in the political system must be carried out as soon as possible if the tasks of the social reform are to be fulfilled more efficiently. For, Simic said, the developed world is rushing ahead of us, and we must therefore rid our political relations of the various burdens which are hampering our progress.

Petar Simic showed special interest in the soldiers' training conditions and of the work of the League of Communists [LC] and youth organizations in the unit he visited today. In reply to Simic's questions, the soldiers and their officers said that the quality of the training is high and that morally and politically their unit is very solid. The soldiers fully understand the situation facing Yugoslavia and are behaving accordingly, it was stressed.

Vice Admiral Petar Simic also visited the headquarters of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. Rahman Morina, president of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and his aides informed Petar Simic about the political-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, as well as about the measures and activities which the Provincial Committee and the subjective forces in general were taking to crush the counterrevolution and to stabilize the situation in Kosovo in line with a decision by the SFRY Presidency to implement special measures in the province.

Military Amendments Introduced in Assembly

LD2303155989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1208 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Soldiers who out of religious conviction refuse to carry a weapon could fulfill their military service without it, but over a period of 24 months [twice the length of normal service]. This is the essence of the amendments to draft changes and addenda to the Law on Military Service, which were today placed before the SFRY Assembly.

The amendments also envisage that the federal secretary for national defense regulate—in the form of a bylaw and in a more complete way—the performance of military service for this category of soldier.

Whether members of religious communities whose convictions forbid them to carry arms can fulfill their military service with or without weapons will be decided upon when they join a military unit. Army officers will be obliged to adopt a solution according to which unarmed soldiers would be dutybound to serve 24 months in the military. The officer is obliged to submit every such solution to the competent organ of the sociopolitical community in which the soldier is registered in military records.

The formulation of these three amendments came about following the decision of the SFRY Presidency adopted at a session held on 15 February of this year. At that time it was decided to allow persons with religious objections to refuse to accept arms and to complete their military service without them. Criminal charges for refusing to accept and use weapons would not be initiated against them. These persons would be assigned auxiliary military duties in which the bearing of arms is not essential.

Soldiers without weapons would perform all other military duties—something which also implies the wearing of uniforms and the taking of military oaths—and military service for them would last twice as long.

Within the reserves, these persons would be treated in the same way as they would during military service.

FEC Submits Report on Attacks on Army

AU2303174389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] If at the beginning of the anti-Army political propaganda campaign there was some confusion about the assessments of the essence of the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], it is now certain—considering the aims, the content, and the duration of the campaign—that it was a matter of very serious, premeditated, and persistent efforts to break up the YPA, and thus the federation. This is one of the key points in the extensive, well-argued report that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] submitted to the SFRY Assembly today.

The FEC analysis notes that the intensity of the ideopolitical challenge to the all-people's defense concept and the attacks on the YPA has marked a steep increase since 1987. The peaceful nature of our concept is disputed, and demands for an almost complete disarmament are made. Such theses were elaborated in NOVA REVIJA and the ABC Peace Pamphlets, and were popularized in MLADINA.

The attacks on the YPA are above all conducted through disputing the YPA role and nature determined by the Constitution and the all-people's defense concept. On this platform, demands were made to establish republican armies, to change the internal relations in the YPA, and to radically reduce the budget, especially the part that relates to the YPA.

This is the basis for the demands to reexamine the concept of the development of the military industry, to completely abandon the exports of arms and military equipment, to reexamine the criteria for the representation of the peoples and nationalities among the officer cadres, to change the language policy in the YPA, and the requests for a civilian instead of military service. The idea about depoliticizing the YPA also belongs here.

Some of these theses and demands even received institutional support in 1988.

The idea about abolishing the YPA and establishing republican armies was fairly strongly presented on the public political scene at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies. According to this idea, the role of the federal organs would be reduced merely to a coordination of the activities of the republican armies, because the federation or the confederation would, according to this idea, be composed of the republics, with their own quite independent armies.

Several individuals, groups, and organizations in Slovenia publicly favored such or similar views; this was done most directly by the Social Democratic Alliance, which formally operates within the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia.

The FEC assesses that the essence of the ideas on a civilian rather than military service is in essence calculated to create an opposition to the Army at the same time as an opposition is created in society, with the Army being virtually reduced to mercenaries and volunteers.

One of the most explicit demands regarding the depolitization of the YPA was published in the pamphlet, "The Struggle for Power," issued by the Republican Conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Slovenia at the beginning of 1989. This pamphlet demands a ban on political organizations within the YPA and a complete neutrality of the YPA in the political life of the country, explaining that the Army is by definition conservative and inclined toward violence, or calls to violence.

These are some of the more important details that we have extracted from the report submitted by the FEC to the SFRY Assembly today.

Kosovo Labor Body Issues Warning to Workers

LD2103203189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Provincial Committee for Labor has warned the organizations of associated labor in which there have been and still are work stoppages and strikes to take all legal measures to overcome the situation and to refuse to pay the workers who do not turn up for work for what they have not earned.

The committee stressed at today's session that a considerable number of working hours have been lost due to strikes, absence from work, and the failure to carry out work obligations, and that the economy of the province and the country has suffered enormous damage. The communique stresses that it is a particular duty of the provincial committee for labor and of managing and self-managing organizations to consistently and resolutely implement legal solutions and self-managing regulations on the accountability of workers with regard to the violation of work obligations and the failure to respect work discipline. The committee stresses that absence from work without an excuse and failure to carry out work obligations have been qualified as a serious violations of work duty by legal regulations and general self-managing documents, entailing the disciplinary responsibility of workers. [passage omitted]

The Committee for Labor joins the appeal to workers who are still absent to return to work and resume their regular duties, making up for lost time and production and thus contributing to efforts to stabilize the economic, political, and general public situation in the province and further afield.

Kosovo Internal Affairs Official Details Arrests

LD2303114589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1055 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Jusuf Karakusi, the provincial secretary for Internal Affairs of Kosovo, said in an interview to RILINDJA that 44 people have been detained for taking part in organizing and encouraging the events of last November and February. Karakusi confirmed that in addition to Azem Vlasi and nine officials from Trepca, the internal affairs organs have detained another 34 persons. These include: Lazer Krasnici, director of Elektrokosovo; Bahri Oruci, a pensioner; Elkrem Arifi, member of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee; Ibrahim Osmani, head of the information service of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee; Ismet Jasanica, director of the student center in Pristina; Dzafer Gasi, director of Termoelektrana of Obilic; Mustafa Goga, director of the Trajko Grkovic combine of Urosevac; Emrus Dibra, an engineer in the Goles mine; Dzemsit Vokri, an engineer in the Kisnica mine; and Salih Ljulaj, an engineer in the leather and footwear combine of Pec.

Stari Trg Mine Described as 'Back to Normal'

LD2303153989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0841 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—Production in the Stari Trg mine was back to normal this morning.

Out of 406 employees called on to report to work for the first shift, 393 turned up. However, the situation in the Goles magnesite mine near Lipljan has not changed. The miners there reported for work, but after a brief stay on the premises they went back home.

Charges Filed Against Striking Goles Miners

LD2303214189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1646 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Lipljan, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—The Lipljan Municipal Magistrate's Court has bought 265 charges of minor offenses against workers in the Goles mine who over the past few days have refused to accept compulsory work orders. Today the Goles miners did not want to go down the pits, while a number of workers returned to work on processing machinery.

Criminal Charges Lodged Against Journalists

LD2403113889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 24 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—The competent military organs have brought charges in the Titograd Municipal Public Prosecutor's Office against journalists Cedomir Radusinovic and Jovan Stamatovic of Titograd's POBJEDA, because of evidence that they committed the crime of spreading false news, per Article 207 of the Criminal Law of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. Radusinovic and Stamatovic, in an article entitled "Two Lists of One Counterrevolution", said that "the military authorities have drawn up a list of officers of Albanian nationality against whom there is evidence of participation in organizing and preparing the counterrevolution in Kosovo." Similar news was announced by Titograd radio and television, after the Federal Secretariat for National Defense announced that criminal charges have also been brought against one of their journalists.

The above-mentioned article in POBJEDA was published 3 March, and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on 7 March, via TANJUG, published a refutation denying the accuracy of the cited information. At that time it was said that the competent organs would take the necessary measures, something which has now been done. The criminal charges were brought after the necessary information had been gathered and the circumstances in which the article was published had been clarified.

Novi Sad Group Not To Attend Ljubljana Meeting

AU2303204189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Novi Sad Solidarity, an association to aid Kosovo, will not attend, nor will it organize any trips to a meeting in Ljubljana that was announced for 25 March. This decision was made after consultations in the City Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Novi Sad, Milivoje Radenkovic, vice president of Solidarity, said.

Macedonian Assemby Discusses Kosovo Situation

LD2103172789 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Delegates of the Macedonian Assembly have met in Skopje. They accepted several legal documents and adopted conclusions on the security situation in the republic. Marija Damjanovska reports:

In the discussion and in the conclusions, the delegates expressed support for the measures of the top state and party organs of the country for overcoming the situation in Kosovo, which has negative repercussions in Macedonia, because in some regions the activity of hostile forces from positions of Albanian nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism has increased. The complexity of the situation in the republic is also compounded by the serious economic position of workers. All this, it was stated, has a destabilizing influence on society because it makes efforts for finding a way out of the crisis more difficult. Because of this, all efforts should be maintained for passing laws and other documents for the realization of reforms and for eradicating the hostile activities of Albanian separatists. It is proposed that sociopolitical communities and organizations of associated labor in the republic should more energetically resolve the problems of socioeconomic development through the legal institutions of the political system. In this respect, it was stated, additional measures must be undertaken for the consolidation of the economy and the banks, as well as for rationalization. It is also essential to carry out changes in the area of income so that workers may receive higher salaries in order to motivate them toward greater production, as well as to improve their living standards.

Macedonian-Bulgarian Cooperation Talks Held

LD2103201289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1602 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Skopje, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The prospects for expanding economic cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria within the framework of the overall Yugoslav-Bulgarian cooperation was the main topic of talks between Gligorie Gogovski, president of the Macedonian Executive Council, and Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Biotechnology and Chemical Industry Association, held in Skopje today.

In the course of the talks, the potentials created by the signing of an agreement on industrial cooperation, joint investment, and other forms of long- term cooperation between the OHIS [chemical industry—FBIS] of Skopje and its economic partners from Bulgaria were considered.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly Debates Security

LD2103200889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—At a session held today the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercevogina positively discussed and assessed the work of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs last year. A report on this was presented by Muhamed Besic, member of the republic's Executive Council and head of the Internal Affairs Secretariat. The assembly also endorsed a proposal by its Executive Council providing for a number of concessions to be granted to the OSLOBODJENJE press and publishing work organization and to Sarajevo radio and television, both of which are in a difficult material position. The delegates also discussed the situation in the republic's electricity industry, which at the moment is torn between the desire to provide the necessary amount of electricity by building new production capacities on the one hand, and the inability to do this at the present level of prices which, in any case, are a heavy burden on citizens' budgets.

Muhamed Besic stressed that the political-security situation in the republic is difficult and is further aggravated by the exceptionally complex situation in Kosovo. Kosovo is the country's most difficult security and political problem and the battle for Kosovo is, by implication, a battle for the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]-based Yugoslavia of Tito.

The difficult situation in Kosovo, Muhamed Besic continued, the escalation of irredentism, the continued pressures on Serbs and Montenegrins and their rights, in particular, and vacillation in the efforts to crush the counterrevolution and to resolve Kosovo's real problems serve to create ample scope for the activity of those forces in both the country and Kosovo whose aim it is to destroy Yugoslavia. Their goals are anticommunism and antisocialism, and they are launching increasingly unscrupulous attacks on the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, on Tito's achievements, and basically, on all the achievements of our socialist revolution.

In reference to various scandals in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Muhamed Besic said that the republic is unanimous over the need in a democratic way to examine all relevant facts surrounding the Mosevac case.

The multinational Bosnia-Hercegovina, with national diversity as its main strength, has become the object of those with ethnocentric ambitions who are using our territory to draw lines of division and spread nationalist hatred among people who have lived together for centuries. Nationalism is on the increase, and that is the greatest danger facing us at the moment. Besic stressed that the nationalists' aim is to encourage the so-called homogenization.

In its essence, this is nothing but the use of the notorious "Yalta" formula to partition the country. The nationalists are searching for various pieces of "historical evidence," are making up or interpreting in the way that suits them various statistics and other facts, all with the aim of "proving" that their right to Bosnia-Hercegovina is greater than someone else's. According to Besic, Bosnia- Hercegovina has become the object of Albanian irredentist aspirations. These have been embraced by some of the Albanian nationalists, who are now calling for greater links and meeting in support of Albanian separatists in Kosovo. At the same time, the bourgeois right is looking for support in both the nationalism and the foreign arena and sees its chances in the political confusion caused by the polarized leaderships, the attempts to degrade the role of the LCY, by the social tensions caused by the prolonged crisis, and by everything else that allows even those alternatives that would mean the destruction of the constitutional system and the introduction of a multiparty system to be promoted. There are some in whose view the further deepening of the crisis, the continued threats against the country's constitutional system from growing nationalist tensions, and other internal policy problems should be resolved by consolidating bureaucratic-etatist orientations and through centralist and hardline solutions. Growing right-wing tendencies are used by such people to step up their activity, thus posing yet another threat to the successful implementation and consolidation of the process of socialist democracy.

Slovenia's Potrc Meets SFRY Assembly Group

LD2103000789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—The opening up of Slovenia toward Europe also means the opening up of all of Yugoslavia. This is the only way to ensure that we do not one day become a European oasis of low productivity and uncompetitiveness, Slovene Assembly President Miran Potrc said in talks with a delegation of the SFRY Assembly, which today arrived on a 2-day visit to this republic.

These efforts by Slovenia, he continued, do not always meet with understanding throughout the country. There is often misinterpretation of our cooperation within the framework of the Alpe-Adria organization, although we gain great economic advantages from this, and advocate that other republics be included in this cooperation. For Slovenia, an opening up to the world is all the more important because the material situation in this republic is no longer an easy one. There are a considerable number of problems in the development of many collectives, Potrc said, because the modernization and restructuring of production demands a large amount of resources. The personal incomes and living standards of workers are falling; health care, education, and culture are in an unenviable position; and the number of unemployed in Slovenia has doubled over the past year.

Speaking about the situation in Kosovo, Potrc stressed that the Slovene republican leadership considers the problems in the province to be the problems of all of Yugoslavia and not just of the SR of Serbia, and that among the many negative phenomena, the most worrying is the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this part of the country. However, Slovenes, he continued, really think that extraordinary measures [vanredne mere] cannot solve things favorably in Kosovo in the long term. In this respect, there should above all be more work to improve intranational relations in the province, and thus to create conditions as soon as possible for ending these measures. In our opinion, Potrc said, there should be a calm assessment of the reasons why policy in Kosovo over the past 10 years has not yielded the desired results. We must see whether it is perhaps a bad one, or whether it simply is not being implemented consistently. We must do all this calmly and without labeling the Slovenes as being in favor of revising the stances on Kosovo.

In response to a statement by SFRY Assembly delegate Marija Rodic, who said that the citizens of Slovenia should accept the fact that a large part of Yugoslavia had condemned the recent events in Cankar House, Potrc said that we must leave the possibility of looking at certain issues in the country in various ways. It would be quite illogical to demand from Slovenia that it condemn at any price the meeting in Cankar House, and for this to be a condition for this republic continuing to cooperate with other parts of Yugoslavia. Speaking about this event, the Slovene Assembly president stressed that on that occasion, some irresponsible sentences and assessments had been voiced. Nevertheless, the gathering in Cankar House at the time was, objectively speaking, necessary, because otherwise similar gatherings would have been organized in many collectives in the republic.

Stating that without democracy in the political system there could not be democratization in the economy and in society as a whole, Potrc said that any administrative ban of current democratic processes in Slovenia would be a mistake. At the same time, all claims to the effect that in the republic today a multiparty system is in force are mistaken, because not one single newly formed alliance in Slovenia is in fact acting outside the Socialist Alliance, the Slovene Assembly president said.

Speaking about the work of the SFRY Assembly, Potrc stressed that Slovene proposals for solving some questions are not always fully understood. It is necessary to carefully consider the causes for differences on some important issues, because this is the path to their successful resolution. Unfortunately in the Federal Assembly, there is not always sufficient will for this kind of work. This creates a feeling of uneasiness and of a lack of confidence in the federal organs. In the Slovene Assembly and among the delegates, the opinion is then formed that one should take an even firmer stand in defense of one's stances in the SFRY Assembly, Potrc said.

Dizdarevic Receives New U.S. Ambassador

LD2103170189 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Text] Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received the letters of credence of the new ambassador of the United States in our country, Warren Zimmerman, with whom he then had a friendly conversation.

Dizdarevic Comments on Constitutional Change

LD2003192589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—It is not infrequent that in our country there is more talk of and slogans about constitutionality and legality than is achieved in practice, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, said in connection with today's talks in the Palace of the Federation with a delegation of those participating in a symposium of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court and the constitutional courts of the republics and autonomous provinces. This behavior of ours is particularly dangerous now that our society is faced with very difficult problems. Truly, the real battle for constitutionality and legality must be initiated, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed, because there is already a direct threat to our constitutional order and abuse of the term, the state's rule of law, and because in essence attempts are being made to destroy it.

Members of the delegation, led by Dr Branislav Ivanovic, president of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, informed the president of the SFRY Presidency of the work of the symposium so far. In addition to the tasks of the constitutional courts in resolving some of the problems of our legal system, they stressed in particular the importance and necessity of political action in synchronizing the constitutional changes in the republics and autonomous provinces and adapting the law on them to the adopted constitutional amendments.

Welcoming the symposium, Dizdarevic stressed that there are many questions and problems that require common views in the application and implementation of the constitutional amendments, all the more so because one should not merely wait for the forthcoming changes to the SFRY Constitution, but, parallel to the work on them, what has already been adopted must be implemented in practice.

BORBA Views 'Albanian Separatist' Activity

AU2203151089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 89 p 1

[Milos Antic report: "Spring Is No Longer Late"]

[Text] Pristina, 19 Mar—The question of whether the long-awaited political spring will reach Kosovo with the arrival of this year's calendar spring next week is no longer a question of local provincial importance.

The long-term havoc of the counterrevolution of the greater Albanian separatist movement threatened at the end of this year's winter to openly encroach on the integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia. Through the organization and carrying out of the general political and economic strike between 20 and 28 February, attempts were made to mobilize all adherents to the greater Albanian separatist movement for the destruction of Yugoslavia.

The introduction of the so-called third stage of the document of the leadership of the separatist movement should have shown that all conditions were ripe for "the deciding battle in Kosovo," that is, for Kosovo's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia and its unification with "a future greater Albania."

As is becoming increasingly apparent, the greater Albanian separatist movement has already made many preparations for this purpose. They transferred "officers and noncommissioned officers" from abroad through our guest workers and put "assault units" near our border on standby. Along with certain political support from members of a nationalist-bureaucratic leadership which acquired a number of business cadres—and these recruits should have, at a certain moment, led some workers "into the fray"—all this was considered sufficient to start a big fire.

It is not accidental at all that miners and their lives were used in the second phase to internationalize the "Kosovo problem." It was also not accidental that there was the tendency toward emphasizing exclusively political demands, because it was believed that Yugoslavia—particularly in the situation where there are certain differences in the work of its leadership in regard to solving the Kosovo crisis—would not find a solution to this enigma, that is to say, it would not "give in" to these demands and thus become responsible in the eyes of the world for the lives of the miners whose leaders "maneuvered" them onto 2 ½ tonnes of explosives. In such a situation, openly calling on foreign aid, which has also been planned right down to the last detail, would be an "inevitability."

The preparation and implementation of such a great and dangerous game, regardless of the fact that it is built on unsteady foundations, had to be stirred up and developed on something to which the Albanians are most sensitive, on their national feeling and pride, and on their supposed peril.

The constitutional changes, first in the country and then in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, were chosen for this purpose. When it was realized that Yugoslavia was not going to change the basic principles of its Constitution, the promoters of the separatist movement put this aspect after the first initiative in the foreground, because only this movement could use it to provoke revolt among the Albanian nationality, and redirected all their forces to the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia.

It is already well known that the Albanian nationality became homogeneous with the hearty support of members of a leadership which put itself at the disposal of the counterrevolution by keeping silent or sowing fear over the constitutional changes. On this basis, a not in the least bit naive "first practice" was carried out in November, a "trial mobilization" took place at the beginning of February, and a "dress rehearsal" at the end of February, while the beginning of the "great game" should have occurred "spontaneously" after the suffering of the miners, that is to say, "when the spring came."

Regardless of the fact that in contrast to 1981, everything was now planned in great detail, all scenes were rehearsed down to the last detail, and that the foreign factor was amply included in the great project of yet another attack on Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia found the strength—and this can now be said—to take wise, tactical, and practical measures to first of all stop "the dress rehearsal," and then played its role in Kosovo by applying constitutional provisions and privileges.

After this infernal plan of the leadership of the greater Albanian separatist movement for the destruction of Yugoslavia came to light, it was probably clear to all doubting Thomases why Yugoslavia played its role in Kosovo, why the special measures were introduced, and why Kosovo can no longer be left to the tender mercies of destiny and sheer hostile aspirations.

The most important thing is that this has been rightly realized and accepted in the last few days by the majority of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. It is simply becoming clear to people what "their leaders" were pushing them into, and why they wanted to sacrifice them.

Seen in this context, agreeing to the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia is important. The delegates of the provincial assembly should do this on Thursday, 23 March. There virtually no longer exists any uncertainty about the positive outcome of this political act. Now that it has been explained to people that they are losing absolutely nothing but, on the contrary, are gaining something, support is coming from all sides and all levels in the province and delegates are being authorized to agree to the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia.

As this very important political event coincides with the beginning of this year's spring, many observers here are ready to maintain that the Kosovo iceberg is thus finally beginning to melt in Kosovo, the SR of Serbia, and Yugoslavia and that the Kosovo political spring is therefore beginning to be seen.

Everything is now in our hands.

LCY Commission Focuses on Interethnic Issue

AU2203170089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Ideal Nations and Other Nations"]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar—It would not be superfluous to say that today there is no class, strata, or generation that has not been affected by the crisis in interethnic relations. There are more and more of those who accept nationalism, as well as those who are becoming increasingly vociferous in saying that we should not live together, not even alongside each other, but opposed to each other. The ones that are also becoming increasingly vociferous are those who claim: "My nation is the ideal nation; other nations are problematic, although there are maybe a few members of other nations who are honest."

This is how the opening speaker, Dusan Dragosavac, started today's discussion on the most topical as well as the most painful question concerning Yugoslavia's reality—interethnic relations and raging nationalism—at the session of the Commission for Interethnic Relations of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. This discussion was a preparatory discussion for the LCY Central Committee's discussion on the same topic due to be held soon.

There Are More and More Bulletins...

Pleading for a tolerant discussion, "because there is already too much intolerance," Dragosavac said that destabilization and the lack of harmony have caused nationalism to flare up. Members of all nations and nationalities are greatly disturbed, especially those who are in the minority in some communes. This is not surprising when every day we tell our nationalities that the republics in which they live today are not their national state, and that the SFRY is not their country. This is said in a very suggestive manner.

The phenomena of single nationality gatherings is the result of an attempt to "homogenize" the nation. This was done in Kosovo, Dragosavac said, and has had catastrophic results. Similar tendencies are viewed in other parts of the country. The previous republican-provincial homogenization—on the basis of statism—was augmented by nationalism, while nationalism is increasingly and frequently augmented by clericalism.

Today on the public scene, there is widespread activity which proceeds from the obsolete anticommunist and neo-Stalinist theory and practice. This is turning Yugoslavia into a place for mutual political showdowns. The counterrevolution was prepared ideopolitically and organizationally; it threatens to turn not only Kosovo, but all of Yugoslavia as well into a battlefield for a chauvinist-clerical war. Quarrels between some leaders, helped by the lack of unity among the media, disturb and frighten everybody....In this situation there is no work, there is no increase in productivity, there are no conditions for reforms....In this atmosphere, the calls for a civilized press and other information media will hardly be answered. There are an increasing number of political bulletins being issued by some political strongmen and certain leaders. Socialist and democratic orientations and prospects are being lost sight of.

Warning that constitutionality and legality are being violated, as well as the Statute of the League of Communists [LC], that there is no democratic dialogue, and that democratic relations between the majority and the minority are not respected, Dragosavac said:

Our task is to stop divisions, clashes, and quarreling based on nationalist, anticommunist, and clerical positions, and to affirm the working men in order to more effectively and successfully cooperate with our neighbors, Europe, and the world....By classifying people according to national affiliation, anticommunists are trying, by using nationalists, to break up the cooperation that exists between the working class, working people, and all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and in this way to demobilize and paralyze the LC and other subjective socialist forces.

Worrying Applause and Euphoria

In his prepared speech, Silvo Devetak said that the view that the police and the Army can resolve ethnic conflicts is completely wrong and politically unjustifiable. Some research and the experiences of other countries suggest that military and police intervention remains neutral only in some isolated cases. In his view, there will be a question mark about the solution to the ethnic problems if we ensure the safety of the state rather than that of all ethnic groups which live in it.

It stems from research by world experts which concludes that managing modern (industrial) multinational societies is a subtle matter which can only be successfully conducted by people who not only have expert and political abilities, but humane qualities and experience as well. Although one cannot deny the fact that in this country, rule by means of "political instinct" and the "will of the people"—and by a club when needed—has been confirmed, in my humble opinion it would be sensible to at least read about those experiences and research that can demonstrate to us that history has confirmed as progressive only those policies which built rather than destroyed bridges between people, nations, and cultures.

Catastrophic situations in multinational communities occur when some individual "national leaders," instead of offering—which they are usually not qualified to do—positive programs, jobs, and general prospects to the young generations in particular, are trying to present "other people" to the members of "their nation" as the main cause of their troubles and frustrations. As is well known, national movements in the 1920's emerged from this kind of thing, movements which led mankind to the verge of an abyss.

Bearing in mind the exceptionally complex situation, Devetak proposed that the republican and provincial leaderships start mutual consultations on all of Yugoslavia's essential issues immediately in order to achieve some kind of synthesis, and in this way extend full and specific support to the new Federal Executive Council. He wanted these discussions to be open so that citizens could be acquainted with all arguments, something that would prevent possible manipulations.

Pointing to the dramatic situation in the country and the party, Nijaz Durakovic wondered why the most topical and the most advantageous thing in our country is to be a "good Serb," a "good Croat," a "good Albanian....." Durakovic was of the opinion that the key question was: Why were Kosovo miners, who live under the same living conditions in the same civilized community, being referred to as "Albanians" and "Serbs" rather than "miners?"

Otherwise, Durakovic said that he fully supported the SFRY Presidency's measures for Kosovo, because it was shown that they were the only thing to be done in that situation. However, I am concerned about the applause and euphoria expressed in support of these measures, he said.

Budimir Kosutic also wondered why the national component was so dominant in present-day society. He saw the answer to this in certain forces and legal systemic solutions which pushed the class aspect into the background.

Having said that nationalism is one of the sources of our crisis, Ivan Cvitkovic pointed out that nationalist, political, religious, and other tensions are also great. We have too many nationalist quarrels and passions, and excessive public confrontations.

Not underestimating the influence of relations between other peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia on the general climate, Cvitkovic believes that Serbian-Croatian relations are of the greatest importance for the fate of this county because the clashes about these relations are no longer restricted to these two republics alone, but affect the entire country.

Cvitkovic categorically rejected the frequently heard theses on the insignificance of some nations in Yugoslavia, saying that Macedonian and Muslim nations have most frequently been belittled. Saying that Kosovo is our malignant wound which needs to be treated, Cvitkovic warned that it would not be good to make people think that the special measures were the only cure and escape from Yugoslavia's crisis.

[The remainder of the item appears boxed within the body of the item]

Polemic Durakovic-Vico

After Durakovic had asked why the strikers in the Stari Trg mine were not treated as miners, but as Albanians, Ratomir Vico said that the miners did not present social and class demands. Why should they not also be allowed to have political demands, Durakovic interrupted. Vico said that these demands were not in line with the LC, but Durakovic replied by saying that this was a debatable point.

After Vico had finished his speech, Durakovic, with raised voice, said that Vico was trying to impose his own truth and to even threaten this meeting. According to Durakovic, Vico will be remembered by the precedent he had set: that he did not agree with the class approach to national issues. Vico is talking about ephemerality, but the main issue is class-production relations. Vico, Durukovic continued, is derisive about the view that only the development of self-management will solve the situation in Kosovo. This is actually the only way out; otherwise we will be at variance with Marx's theory. I support the temporary measures in Kosovo because they are necessary at present, but they are not and cannot be a permanent solution. If they are to be, then we have given up our ideological concept, Durukovic said. Vico did not reply.

19th Century Slogans

"In socialist Yugoslavia, the attitude toward national minorities, that is to say nationalities, does not and cannot depend on Yugoslavia's relations with other countries. All citizens should be treated as equal. In this context, the SFRY does not and cannot demand any reciprocity. For the sake of human, social, political, and other reasons, Yugoslavia must fight consistently and continuously for the equality of all, and, of course, for the equality of all Yugoslav peoples who live in neighboring and other countries....

"...Nationalism in our circumstances is an ideological facade behind which various so-called middle strata and bureaucratic, economic, and social groups are appearing which are particularly reliant on petit bourgeois and some similar forces from the past. Nationalists are appearing with slogans from the 19th century, but their aims are topical and are intended to be realized. By inducing irrational passions, they remind one of old frictions and disagreements. Nationalists are fooling the people by pointing at the wrong enemy. All the chauvinists agree on one thing: They are turning all the past disgraces and defeats into victorious myths, into 'glorious pages' of our history.

"They are creating heroes, as Antun Barac would say, from policemen, drunkards, and common servants of foreign masters; they are turning mystics and obscurantists into messengers from God; they are creating national saints from highwaymen. They are always talking about the disfranchisement and plunder of their nation, and about their nation's great imperilment by other nations. They are trying to revive the programs of various great national states. For them, the SFRY is only provisional." (Dr Dusan Dragosvac)

Abstention on UN Rights Resolution Explained

LD2303190189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1517 GMT 23 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 23 (TANJUG)—The reason why Yugoslavia abstained from voting on resolutions concerning Albania and Romania is its assessment that the U.N. Human Rights Commission will play its role with a greater success if it develops relations of understanding and cooperation with all countries, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat today informed the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

The Foreign Secretariat stressed that this is a principled stand which the Yugoslav delegation (?adhered) to in past cases of accusations against other countries.

The resolution on Albania, the secretariat assessed, does not in fact deal with human rights in this country, so that it had not furnished an opportunity for discussing the national minorities position. The resolution, it is added, actually speaks of the absence of readiness on the part of Albania to cooperate with the U.N. Human Rights Commission, Yugoslavia's fundamental interest is in establishing realistic conditions for the promotion of human rights in Albania, and within this framework the rights for Macedonian, Serbian and Montenegrin minorities, living in Albania.

The abstention from voting should encourage Albania to cooperate with the U.N. Human Rights Commission, the Yugoslav foreign secretariat stressed.

Yugoslavia was not able to accept the fact that the resolution calls on the U.N. Human Rights Commission to name a special reporter on the state of human (?rights in) Romania because the decision has not been preceded by a compulsory discussion under the so-called "secret procedure", the Yugoslav foreign secretariat stated.

The failure to observe the procedure, it is assessed, would threaten with an undesirable politization of the work of the commission and the misuse of its instruments for political motives. Besides, some other parts of the resolution also represented an attempt at interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, which Yugoslavia does not support.

The secretariat stressed that the Yugoslav delegation supported the part of the resolution on the need for the respect of national minority rights and stressed that administrative and other measures in Romania reflect negatively on the minority rights and could result in their disappearance.

Hasani, Koljgeci Address Role of Media

LD2003201189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency member Sinan Hasani and Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province Presidency, had talks this evening with the directors and chief and executive editors and party secretaries of the Kosovo information media on the role and tasks of the public information media in stabilizing the situation in the province. It was reported that there was discussion in particular of the necessity to create favorable public opinion and ensure a common front of the members of all the nations and nationalities in the struggle to remove all negative developments in the province.

It was stressed that the public information media should have a special role in overcoming intranational distrust and in affirming the demands for the creative work of working people and citizens in all fields. It was stressed that the media should have a special place in this in the province, especially the information media in Albanian, which ought to contribute more creatively to stabilizing the situation in the province, the statement of the Provincial Committee for Information says.

All-People's Defense Commission Discusses Media

LD2103210189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The public information media in Serbia have covered the issues concerning all-people's defense [ONO] and social self-protection [DSZ] accurately and objectively. However, not all areas have demonstrated the same degree of involvement in the articles on this theme. The degree of qualification of journalists dealing with these problems varies from editorial board to editorial board, and some of them fail to produce material of a satisfactory quality. At the same time, the overall, complex political and economic situation in the country demands that the Serbian League of Communists [LC] set new tasks with regard to defense and protection; those were the most important points raised at today's session of the Commission for ONO and DSZ of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, which discussed the information and propaganda activity related to the ONO and DSZ and the LC tasks.

In support of better quality information and propaganda activity in the area of defending certain activities, Miodrag Ivanovic, chairman of the commission, stressed the dual duty of the public media in his introductory report: objective and truthful coverage of events in this area of defense, but at the same time the unmasking of and adequate reaction to all the phenomena directed at undermining the socialist self-managing system and destroying the constitutional system and the integrity of the country, regardless of the exponents or the environments from which these phenomena originate.

It is a matter of attacking Yugoslavia from within, stressed Ivanovic. It is not a matter of the Yugoslav market, which does not yet exist in a unified form, or of national economies and other incomprehensible phenomena for our people, in which national or republican-provincial bureaucracies parceled out the country, but of the system of ONO and DSZ as a uniform system of the defense and protection of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutionaly established social system of the country. [passage omitted]

How is it possible that a weekly carries an article entitled "Yugoslavia: Defense and Final Days," with a picture showing soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) in helmets and with bayonets. The meaning is clear, says Ivanovic. The intention is to demonstrate the alleged concern over the implementation of special measures introduced because of the counterrevolution in Kosovo. They have been introduced against the enemy of Yugoslavia, against Albanian nationalists and separatists and for the protection of all the nations living in Kosovo, the protection from these very separatists.

If someone is supposed to be afraid of the army, its bayonets, and tanks in Kosovo, these could only be nationalists and separatists. Reporters who publish lies and equate victims with executioners should also fear such an army. The working people and citizens should not be afraid of their army, stressed Ivanovic, illustrating this by an example according to which the JNA members are now, in the circumstances of special measures, in continual contact with people in Kosovo, giving them comprehensive help while teams of the best medical specialists conduct free checkups and distributing medicine to the population. This can only be done by a people's army such as ours, stressed Ivanovic. [passage omitted]

Some participants in the discussion have predicted that this monstruous campaign against the JNA and the system of ONO and DSZ will not weaken. All this has led to a question brought up at this meeting. Has the situation become ripe for clearing up the matter of whether there is a unanimous view in Yugoslavia on the ONO and DSZ as a uniform system in the country, considering the current social situation?

Zagreb District Court Bans START Article

LD2103182489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 21 Mar 89

[Summary] Zagreb, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—The Zagreb District Court today decided to impose a permanent ban on the article "Sketch for a Portrait of Miroslav Solevic" in issue number 526 of START. In his article, in the form of an interivew , Solevic "carried out an act of hostile propaganda in accordance with Article 133 of the Criminal Law." During the hearing, the deputy district public prosecutor described part of the interview as "a call to destroy the legal organs of authority in two republics, the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia."

Concern Expressed Over Nuclear Plant's Safety

LD2103093389 Belgrade TANJUG IN English 0155 GMT 21 Mar 89

["Chernobyl Could Happen in Yugoslavia," by Ivan Ivkovic]

[Text] Belgrade, March 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's only nuclear power station, the eight-year-old Krsko, recently stopped production for the eightieth time, provoking local environmentalists to intensify their warnings about the possibility of a new Chernobyl in Yugoslavia.

Krsko was completed in 1981, but eight years later it has still not been granted an official operating permit from competent organs, making calls by Yugoslavia's green-oriented youth for its entombment in a concrete sarcophagus seem further and further from sheer folly.

Krsko has even succeeded in provoking a certain amount of panic from Yugoslavia's neighbours. In an article also quoted by the Yugoslav press the Italian weekly EUROPEO called the plant an "incomprehensible object of darkness" about which not much is known except that it "produces" small radiation leaks, thermal pollution of Yugoslavia's longest river, the Sava, whose waters it uses for cooling purposes, has chronic spare-parts problems and lacks space for storing spent radioactive fuel. EUROPEO also quoted the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL, which has said that three nuclear bombs could have been manufactured from recycled atomic material from Krsko.

Austrian parliamentary deputy Holda Harich [name as received] has said that her government well understood Yugoslavia's problems and needs, but that it would not give up its demand for the plant to be shut down permanently. Austria has said it would cover one-half of the expenses of the plant's closure, which will cost at least two billion dollars. Italy and Austria are also considering making up for the energy deficit the Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia would suffer in the event of Krsko's closure.

Delegates in the Croatian Assembly said before the start of Krsko's construction that a nuclear power plant's operating life was about twenty years, that it could not pay for itself in that period and that conservation after twenty years would cost at least as much as the construction of a new one.

Nevertheless, the U.S. firm Westinghouse won the battle with common sense and the cornerstone of the plant was laid on December 1, 1974.

The contractual price of 700 million dollars very soon grew to over two billion dollars (owing to interest on loans, breakdowns and failures to keep time limits), while the construction itself proceeded under a veil of secrecy—even the exact thickness of the steel dome of Krsko's reactor remains undisclosed to this day. This is not at all unusual in view of the fact that Westinghouse made savings precisely on the cupola of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant's reactor in the United States, whose serious venting of radioactivity served as an overture to the Chernobyl catastrophe.

The Belgrade weekly NIN points to another similarity between Krsko and Three Mile Island—the vibrations which caused the so-called "China syndrome" (partial core meltdown) at the U.S. plant.

Officially, Krsko has not yet suffered any accidents, but its steam generators provoke anxiety of those in the know—Westinghouse has given up the production of this type of reactor and the United States Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) has stopped the construction of a nuclear power station in Puerto Rico which would have been Krsko's twin.

The seriousness of the situation is evidenced by NIN's unofficial report that Westinghouse has offered to completely replace the corroded steam generators in Krsko—with the proviso of being granted the construction of another nuclear power plant in Yugoslavia.

Under the present circumstances, such a deal is out of the question, as the country has decided not to build any nuclear power plants until the year 2000.

Reforms Described as '5 Years' Too Late

AU2103184389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 89 p 15

[Reprint of OSLOBODJENJE commentary by Vlastimir Mijovic: "An Opportunity (Not) Missed"]

[Text] It is not worth lamenting now. Five years ago the great opportunity was lost forever. Had the party started reforms at that time—after the famous general party discussion on the conclusions of the 13th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [Leauge of Communists of Yugoslavia], in which almost every party member said his piece—today the party would be able to tackle the crisis and all its by-products better, above all through its own dissolution. At that time, the renewal would have been a matter of one's own choice, one's own will, rather than something that was forced from outside. Today everything is different. The transformation of the League of Communists [LC], as one of the three swallows of reform that we hope will make a summer [referring to proverb: One swallow does not make a summer], is a matter of necessity, an imperative of this time, which is in many ways difficult.

Except for the sophistic self-deceit that our chances of overcoming the crisis are greater the greater the crisis is, there is nothing else favorable concerning the deep and fundamental reform. The economy is on the verge of collapse, the political crisis is in full swing, social unrests are become increasingly more open, national passions are growling, the leadership is helplessly waving its hands....In all, this the reforms are a salutary formula. However, neither economic nor political reforms, and therefore the party reform, are a relief. They are a new burden which leads to an improvement through additional efforts. On the way to its own transformation, the LC should in fact get rid of everything that forced it to introduce the reforms. This will not be easy.

Although this was not expected at the beginning, we should not be surprised by the negative assessments of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro and two commissions of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia concerning the document of the Central Committee of the LCY on the transformation of the LCY, entitled the "Basic Directions." Actually, one should understand their readiness to openly express their disagreement and different views as a kind of special courage. It would be illusionary, however, to even think that there is a leadership—be that the top leadership itself—that could at this moment offer an acceptable concept to everybody.

The "Basic Directions of the Transformation of the LCY" is not the end of the story. Its key chapters are yet to be corrected, some even completely rewritten. All this would only be possible to do under the condition that the existing differences are openly resolved. If this happens, the incipient general party discussion, which is still only being carried out at the top, should represent the battleground for an ideological settling of accounts during which one must count on disagreements, polemics, and even verbal confrontations. The most dangerous thing in this long project, such as the transformation of the LC, would be to hold talks behind the temporary partition, as the differences are expressed today.

In this case the LC would also transform itself. The dramatic situation in which we are at present has clearly shown where this would lead to.

Political 'Blindness' Harms Present Situation

AU2103124289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 89 p 1

[Djuro Bilbija commentary: "Collective Blindness"]

[Text] Many people have already begun to fear that Yugoslavia could become a candle that is burning down. Unfortunately this is no longer only a question of many people being inclined to have "excessive demands" when it comes to their homeland or of people basically not being able to exaggerate in their concern for the country and its future.

Crisis has become an insufficiently exact and too weak a word for what is happening to us. This is no longer only a question of the League of Communists [LC], in mistakenly believing that it knows ultimate truths and eternal principles, having turned itself into a bad "state party" which monopolizes the "party state" or of this road having to end quite legally with what we have today: the obvious and lethal fact that quarrels "only" in the leadership of the "state party" are sufficient for the whole of the "party state" to become paralyzed. The situation is much worse: the failure of the hitherto or present model of socialism—which has already begun to threaten an inflation rate of 1,000 percent and symptoms which are warning that neither an undemocratic nor a nonpolitical denouement of the crisis is so impossible any longer at all—has even begun to threaten the integrity of the country.

This is also no longer a question of the entropy of one type of politics which has deceived itself for years with illusions that it can be insufficiently democratic and nonpluralistic without being punished for it, nor does this involve its procedural self-blocking self-destruction. The confrontations that have been taking place recently behind the scenes concerning the demand by the Vojvodina LC for Stipe Suvar to be dismissed, are direct warning that everything is entering a "twilight zone" in which bare force may make decisions (with the mobilization of whole peoples) and in which Yugoslavia can only lose....

What is happening to us is anything but a surprise. For years the republican-provincial elites have attempted and succeeded in making Yugoslavia basically less powerful than any of its constituent parts and to reduce it to what they agreed it should be from day to day. Everyone was happy for quite a long time with a marginalized and tiny Yugoslavia primarily because only as such could it be a guarantee that not one republic would ever interfere in the "internal politics" of any other but Yugoslavia itself could not do that either. So we have got this far (the 1974 Constitution only opened the door wide to this): No one in the country has the right or sufficient strength any longer to at least seriously differentiate between what history and the permanent interests of Yugoslavia can and cannot "recognize" for the quarreling politicians and their leaders.

This is the best proof that in Yugoslavia today no one is doing what is the most important thing, without which not even the historical direction could be taken. This is what someone in all normal and serious societies does and must do!

Therefore we have arrived at the "twilight zone," to the point which the Sarajevo philosopher, Dr Gajo Sekulic described a few days ago like this: "The opaqueness of our social context is developing into collective historical blindness." This is the point at which in Slovenia they too often take a position regarding an "interpretative Serbia," too often a position regarding Milosevic's interpretation of the situation, and even regarding their own interpretation of Milosevic's interpretations of the needs and intentions of Serbia. We have reached the point where many people's view is beginning to be blocked by an "interpretative Slovenia" which is reduced to the political-interpretative discourses of Smole, Zlobec, or Rupel, with regard to which some people are resisting pluralism itself because of Rupel, as well as even the opportunity and obligation for it.

Therefore, even an "interpretative Yugoslavia" is threatening to become our destiny and damnation to such an extent that its integrity is beginning to be decided on by what some people (rightly) think about Solevic and the official nonreaction to his "export of revolution" or about the public demonstration of Serbophobic confederalism which is projected onto both the completion of the constitutional set-up of Serbia and the assessment of the separatist substratum in the Stari Trg miners' "Gandhism." This is also happening to such an extent that because of the balance of power, Yugoslavia is also being weakened by the persistence of those people who are in the right and who offer more than democracy for their followers and a pluralistic approach to the "antibureaucratic revolution."

The present situation in the country can be considered as proof that the Yugoslav peoples must (if they have not done it already) create Yugoslavia. Even though it may sound paradoxical at this moment, Yugoslavia has on its side the deterioration of our circumstances. However, if this is enough, then these excessive demands are excessive!

It has already been said that we need "new eyes" in order to see how possible peace, democracy, and Yugoslavia as a legal state are. However, we need more than that: We need the "new socialism" as much as we need a changed and strengthened position of Yugoslavia so that quarreling party leaderships and political options can no longer ever bring it to its knees. In essence, Yugoslavia should—if it wants to survive—in future be noninterpretative both as an interethnic framework and a historic community.

We cannot stop the candle burning out if it is not realized that an agreement on what sort of new socialism and what sort of new socialism must also precede the passing of the new constitution, the reform of the state, the reform of the trade unions, the reform of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, and the reform of the party.

One should also not succumb to the temptations of fatalistic pessimism. The deterioration of the situation has in many respects so far done more for Yugoslavia than the leaderships on average.